INDO-ARYAN LINGUISTICS

Edited by
OMKAR N. KOUL

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CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
(Ministry of Human Resource Development, Dept., of Higher Education, Government of India)
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India

Indo-Aryan Linguistics

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Foreword

"India was the motherland of our race, and Sanskrit the mother of Europe's languages: she was the mother of our philosophy; mother, through the Arabs, of much of our mathematics; mother, through the Buddha, of the ideals embodied in Christianity; mother, through the village community, of self-government and democracy.

Mother India is in many ways the mother of us all. Nothing should more deeply shame the modern student than the recency and inadequacy of his acquaintance with India .... This is the India that patient scholarship is now opening up like a new intellectual continent to that Western mind which only yesterday thought civilization an exclusive Western thing. "

Will Durant

CIIL was set up over four decades back to ensure the growth and development of Indian languages for a harmonious multilingual India. This means understanding India's multilayered linguistic diversity and safeguarding it through conscious endeavour. Description, Documentation and Development go hand in hand and CIIL has to undertake these activities for all Indian languages regardless of their size or status. Descriptions involve production of phonetic readers, grammars and dictionaries when each language is treated in its own terms, but in contexts where languages come in contact with other languages, it becomes equally necessary to describe one language in relation to another and compare and contrast their forms and meanings to describe their interaction and realization of diverse varieties. Documentation also moves beyond structured vocabulary lists in to documenting diversifying domains of actual language use. This involves creation of authentic records of speech through scientific apparatuses. And development involves preparing the language for new functions and preparing human resources that understand issues involved in teaching a language, about a language or through a language.

Linguistic studies gain ground when interdisciplinary issues are researched and the constant evolution of language forms, variations, modifications, additions and reductions are noticed in language use in society. The study of various language families and their convergence and divergence are themes that have attracted the attention of many a linguist and the complexity of issues has made linguists remark that India is truly *'a sociolinguistic giant'* and also a single *linguistic area* where coexistence of centuries has been embodied in linguistic codes with a unifying layer developing. Since the exchange is a dynamic process it makes sense to keep track of languages from time to time and study the impact of social change on language forms, on one hand, and also study the role that different languages may have played in shaping the society. The four major language families are thus an object of continuous inquiry and study. The present volume takes stock of the Indo-Aryan languages, whose connections with the largest family in the world of Indo-European languages is bound to interest many.

As per census of India, 2001, Indo-Aryan languages constitute 76.86% of India's population, with **21(out of 122) languages** and **106 mother tongues (out of 234- those spoken by at least 10,000 persons)**. Hindi language is shown to be an umbrella of 49 mother tongues with over 400 million speakers! 15 of the 22 languages listed under the 8th schedule of the Constitution of India belong to the Indo-Aryan group. *Devanagari* script is used for Sanskrit, Marathi, Dogri, Konkani, Maithili and Hindi. Sindhi is written in both Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts and Kashmiri and Urdu only in Perso-Arabic script. All others have their own scripts, which too, like devanagari, are derivates of the old Brahmi script. Many of these languages are also reported as second languages or third languages, with Hindi-which is the official language of the Indian Union-being reported by over 200 million as second or third language. Many of the lingua franca are Indo-Aryan and function as pidgins and creoles with Nagamese in Nagaland and Bazaar Hindi being the better known names and have received attention of some linguists; all this points to layers of diversity in actual language use and what we continue to call as one language with many forms. The present volume looks at 10 languages and from various points of view but it also looks at the family as a whole with shared properties and individual differences. The scholarly discussion on Sinhalese and Divehi reminds us that political boundaries don't coincide with linguistic boundaries, and that the Indo-Aryan languages are the dominant official languages in Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Maldives and Sri Lanka as well. This is where the value of linguistic work can lend a cohesive touch to South Asia and become a source of mutual understanding.

I am happy to note that Professor Omkar N. Koul has taken special pains to invite several scholars of great eminence to contribute their papers to this collection. This has made the volume a genuine addition to the rich tradition as many of the articles are of theoretical value as well. I hope this will inspire all others whose languages have not found place to work out their contributions for another volume to follow. Knowing Dr Koul, he will be looking forward to bring out a companion volume in this regard with some of the minor languages or other mother tongues as the object of focus. The manuscript has been ready for some time and it is my hope its publication will be a source of relief and joy.

R.SACHDEVA

Preface

Indo-Aryan languages are characterised for their unique linguistic characteristics which distinguish them from other groups of languages. At the same time there are quite a few interesting linguistic characteristics which distinguish them from each other. Some of these unique features are shared by more than one language within the group. The current volume includes invited papers on different aspects of Indo-Aryan languages and linguistics. The papers cover quite a few languages such as Bangla, Dakhini, Dhivehi, Hindi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sinhala, Urdu etc. The themes cover wide range of topics related to phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, typology, and discourse. The papers unfold interesting common characteristics as well as distinct features of these languages.

Topics related to South Asia as a linguistic area have attracted attention of several scholars. Gair (1- 28) discusses some linguistic features of Sinhala and Dhivehi, not shared by mainland Indo-Aryan languages, but are characteristic of the general South–South-Asian area.

Montaut (29-46) deals with the status of intransitivity in the global economy of the language in Indo-Aryan with special reference to Hindi-Urdu. Providing convincing evidence she concludes that the basic pattern for simple sentences is not the transitive one but the intransitive one.

Verbeke (47-64) presents a chronological account of various changes in the history of Indo-Aryan languages, which led to the transition from accusative to ergative types. She also presents an overview of the older opinions on this transition.

Some languages have variable adverbs and even postpositions which show agreement with either the subject or the direct object of their clauses. In the same languages quantitative adjectives sometimes fail to agree with the nouns they modify. With Kashmiri as model, Hook and Koul (65-86) identify these two phenomena and explore them in western and northern Indo-Aryan languages.

The languages of the Indo-Aryan family feature a wide variety of idioms based on the verb khā- 'eat'. Syllepsis is a rhetorical figure in which one word (often a verb) is understood one way in relation to one word that it governs (usually a noun) and in another way in relation to another. Hook and Pardesi (87-93) axamine how the former is put into play as the latter.

Fatihi (94-102) analyses Urdu, Hindi and Bangla expressives, specifically to the extent to which they exhibit iconicity. He provides a method for measuring the iconicity of words relying on a new formal definition of iconicity.

Dasgupta (103-112) discusses the Positive Polarity Copula in modern Bangla, and indicates its similarity with Odia and (possibly) Asmiya which may lead to the reconstruction of common origin of this feature in Eastern Indic. He proposes a theory-

neutral syntactic characterization of the relation between this copula and the Mood system on the one hand and the handling of emphatic and modal particles on the other.

Bhattacharjea (113-122) presents the word-analysis of Bengali compound constructions. With a few examples of complex words in Bengali, he argues that the strong claim about unconditional seamlessness of words should be called into question.

Hindi-Urdu dislocated structures have been usually accorded a non-movement/construal analysis. Pritha Chandra (123-134) argues that left dislocated structures in the language show reconstruction and binding effects, island-sensitivity etc., thus providing ample evidence for postulating a movement/derivational account for such constructions.

Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages have a variety of multi-verb sequences variously referred to as the compound verb, serial verb, complex predicate etc. Raina (135-152) analyses the co-eventual verb in Hindi, highlighting some of the event semantic properties that distinguish it from the compound verb and individuate this class of multi-verb sequences.

Hindi has been classified as a 'verb-framed language' as opposed to 'satellite-framed' English. Khokhlova (153-162) revises the position of Hindi in Talmy's typological dichotomy providing data from different sources.

Transitive verbs in some select Indo-Aryan languages, such as Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri and Marathi exhibit a split ergativity in their aspectual system. Providing evidence based on case and agreement of the intransitive subject from Kashmiri and Marathi, Wali and Koul (163-180) argue that the nominative and the absolutive case relations are structurally distinct and are governed by two distinct agreements, and show that not all intransitive subjects can be categorized under the nominative rubric.

The notion of transitivity continues to occupy a central place in the description of a language. Drawing insights from a large number of studies, Pardesi (181-200) offers a comprehensive descriptive account of the transitivity spectrum in Marathi.

Mohanty (201-212) argues that though Oriya has been widely claimed to be an Indo-Aryan language, it shows a number of Dravidian and Munda characteristics at all levels, viz. phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, due to its close contact and convergence with the latter languages since time immemorial.

Patnaik (213-218) studies a *brata kathaa* in Oriya written by Sarala Das in the fifteenth century as a narrative of power, and attempts to situate this short work in the process of standardization of Oriya and the prose discourse in it.

Dakkhini and Urdu have sprouted from the same source and have become two distinct varieties. Mustafa (219-226) discusses and analyses the differences at the morphological and syntactic levels.

Though Indo-Aryan languages are spoken across South Asia along side scores of languages of other major language families, they do share some phonological

characteristics which make them different from languages of other language families. Bhat (227-234) presents an overview of the distribution of speech sounds in Indo-Aryan languages.

Three papers in this volume present a critical overview of linguistic research in some selected languages: Bangla, Punjabi and Kashmiri. In the paper related to Bangla, Dash (235-264) provides glimpses of the current research activities; provides cues in the direction of future activities; and creates an interest among the readers for exploring certain areas further.

Joga Singh (265-278) discusses recent research work in Punjabi and indicates a lack of rigorous analysis of Punjabi in terms of recent linguistic theories in most works. The areas of language policy/planning and text analysis have attracted more attention of the scholars than other areas such as syntax.

Koul (279-286) presents a critical overview of linguistic research work related to Kashmiri mostly written in English. In recent years, attention is paid to the description of peculiar linguistic characteristics of the language. There are only limited works written in Kashmiri.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Director of the CIIL and his colleagues for asking me to edit this volume. I would like to thank all the contributors for accepting my request and contributing their papers for the volume. I sincerely hope teachers, students and researchers of linguistics especially South Asian Linguistics will find this volume useful.

Omkar N Koul
Editor

Contents

Southern Island Indo-Aryan (Sinhala, Dhivehi) and the South-South Asia Linguistic Area[1]

James W. Gair

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Thanks to the pioneering work of Jules Bloch and Murray Emeneau, followed by that of a number of scholars such as Colin Masica, South Asia has long been recognized as a linguistic area; that is, as defined by Emeneau, "an area which includes languages of more than one family but showing traits in common which are found not to belong to the other members of (at least) one of the families." As he characterized the South Asia area: "The end result of the borrowings is that the languages of the two families, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, seem in more respects more akin to one another than Indo-Aryan does to the other Indo-European languages.' (Emeneau 1956, 16)

There is always the possibility for sub-areas within a linguistic area, and within the South Asia one there clearly appears to be a southern subarea, defined by a number of features that I have begun to enumerate elsewhere (Gair 1994), and have repeated below in (1). Geographically, it coincides essentially with the South and South-Central Dravidian Language area, extended to bordering Indo-Aryan languages, including some island languages. Most if not all of its defining features are characteristic of both South and South-Central Dravidian and thus their appearance in the Indo-Aryan languages in the sub-area may be reasonably be considered to be the result of contact and borrowing of one kind or another. In what follows, I will use the term "Southern Dravidian" for both the South and South-Central languages, unless further specified, since the difference is irrelevant here. Within the southern subarea there exist several Indo-Aryan languages, isolated from their northern relatives. Two of these are the island languages Sinhala and Dhivehi[2] (Maldivian), the national languages of Sri Lanka and the Republic of the Maldives respectively The group also includes the language of the island of Minicoy, where it is known as Mahl (or Mahal), but it is linguistically a dialect of Dhivehi. Together, they form a southern branch of Indo-Aryan, which can be referred to as "Southern Insular Indo-Aryan" (SIIA)[3].

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[1] As usual, I am greatly indebted to Bruce Cain for information on Dhivehi, including many hours of lively discussion. Dhivehi data in this paper are from Cain 2000 or Cain and Gair 2000, unless otherwise noted.

[2] The *h* in Dhivehi and other forms with *dh* or *th* does not represent aspiration, but is a device for representing dental as opposed to retroflex consonants in Roman script. In Dhivehi, this is part of normalized official way of Romanizing the language, but may also be encountered in Tamil and Sinhala rendered in Roman. Thus the Tamil and Sinhala names in English such as Ramanthan or Karunathillake in which *th* represents a dental stop.

[3] This term is an amplification of the useful term "Insular Indo-Aryan" originated by Sonia Fritz (Fritz 2002), extended slightly to indicate more fully the geographical location and to emphasize the separation from the northern IA languages.

The other Indo-Aryan isolates, such as the Sourashtra of Madurai, Vaagri Boli, and Dakkhini Hindi are later comers to the area, by migration or political-cultural importation.

Sinhala and Dhivehi are now not mutually intelligible, but they share many features, at all levels of structure, not shared with the mainland Indo Aryan languages (though for some of those features, exceptions need to be made here for the southern IA languages, mainly isolates, that have undergone Dravidian influence). Many of these shared features are characteristic of the general South-South-Asian area, such as the absence of aspirated consonants and "Rigid SOV" structure, i.e. strong right-headedness including sentence-final complementizers and preposed relative clause structures (see the list in (1)). Others, however, such as the development of prenasalized stops ("half nasals") and indefinite affixes derived from the number "one", are specific to SIIA, and indicate that it clearly forms a subfamily within IA. From the point of view of linguistic and cultural history, probably the most important and intriguing questions to be addressed concerning this sub-family relate to its means of arrival on the islands and the source from which it came, as well as the time and manner of the separation of Dhivehi from Sinhala. In any case, however, they have existed in the area as a proto-language or separately and isolated from their northern relatives for at least two millenia.

Sinhala has existed on the Island of Lanka since approximately the 6-5 century BCE, and thus has been subject to long-term Dravidian contact, especially from Tamil (or from the forerunner of Tamil and Malayalam prior to their split at approximately the end of the first millennium CE). Whether Dhivehi arrived in the Maldives at the same time or was imported from Lanka later has been a matter of dispute that I will not attempt to settle here[4], but in either case, it would have been similarly subject to long-term Dravidian contact.

In the remainder of this paper, I will first state a few observations concerning the historical relationship of Sinhala and Dhivehi in terms of phonological changes and then make some observations concerning their relation to the linguistic area, concentrating on one complex feature a type of focused (or cleft) sentence and its interaction with question formation and negation.

Sinhala has the longest continuous literary and lithic tradition of any modern Indo-Aryan language, with inscriptional evidence from the 3-2 century BCE, and and there has been considerable work in Sinhala historical linguistics. For Dhivehi, we do not have such an extended record, and the The earliest written record of Dhivehi is the *Loamaafaanu*, a collection of copper plate inscriptions written in a Sinhala-based script at the end of the twelfth century during the reign of Gadanaditya (Maniku and Wijayawardhana 1986, 2), and evidence prior to the eighteenth century is sparse. The work on Sinhala making use of the continuous written record has important value in investigating the relationship of Dhivehi to Sinhala and their time of separation, since many changes in Sinhala can be dated with relative certainty (see particularly

[4] For a discussion of the controversy and the relevant evidence see Cain 2000, Cain and Gair 1995 and 2000.

Karunatillake 2001[5]). In connection with the determination of common changes in applying the comparative method, this provides important evidence for the date of separation, and in some cases even bears on whether or not the changes were indeed common ones. For example, among apparently shared features that could reflect common changes, perhaps the most striking one is the total absence of aspirated consonants, which merged with their unaspirated counterparts before the earliest Sinhala inscriptions of the 3-2 century BCE. This has not been found in any of the mainland Indo-Aryan languages and thus clearly appears to be a common change restricted to proto Sinhala-Dhivehi[6]. Another likely early common change is initial *s* to *h*, and these two are important evidence that the two languages do indeed constitute a subfamily.

Other changes that could be taken as common ones dating to the proto-language however, when looked at closely, pose significant challenges, raising as many questions as answers as to whether they are indeed common changes or parallel ones, in some cases possibly modulated by contact. As only one example of many, both Sinhala and Dhivehi exhibit umlaut of long back vowels followed by *i* [7]. Umlaut of this kind does not seem to occur anywhere in mainland Indo-Aryan, nor is it Dravidian, and it scarcely seems likely that the similarity is accidental. Since the change occurred in Sinhala around the fourth century CE. (Karunatillake 2002, 67) it would appear that Proto Sinhala-Dhivehi separated after that date. However, details in the languages differ in several respects. As Cain noted (2000, 195-196), alternations between umlauted and non-umlauted vowels are involved in several morphophonemic processes, such as in past tense formation, and vowels there other than **a¬* are affected in Sinhala, but not in Dhivehi. Subsequent observations by Fritz (2002, 26-27) noted that Dhivehi, unlike Sinhala, has only one verb showing umlaut of *u*[8], and none of *o*, and she also observed that examples of fronting of **u* or **o* are rare in other environments as well, and dialectically limited in Dhivehi though common in Sinhala.

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[5] This is a slightly revised version of the author's 1969 Cornell University Ph.D. dissertation of the same title.

[6] Although the absence of aspiration is an areal feature shared with Dravidian, one cannot conclusively conclude that it resulted from Dravidian influence rather than some other contact, and there is in fact evidence to the contrary. See Gair 1985.

[7] Fritz 2002, following Geiger, includes post-consonantal *y* as a conditioning factor as well, but this is problematic, since *Cy* clusters would have assimilated to *CC* before the time of umlaut. Geiger explains this by assuming that the vowels in the umlauted forms had a different quality in "Pre-Sinhalese" (p. 21) presumably before cluster assimilation, but this has problems because assimilation including Cy > CC is a Pre-Old Sinhala change, and this would in effect produce phonemic contrast at that point, since there would be a contrast before assimilated versus inherited geminates. However, there is no such distinction in umlaut, with reflexes of both treated alike. The situation is actually more complex, since only long vowels were affected by umlaut, and that included those produced by compensatory lengthening accompanying the simplification of geminates. Also, not all forms exhibiting umlaut have OIA or MIA *y* or *i*, but *i* also developed from final *e*, as proposed by Karunatillake (2001, 69-73) and this suggests a more likely scenario for the **Cy* > *CC* forms as well. Interestingly, this argues for a non-western subcontinental origin for both languages from where *e* was the nominal ending (Karunatillake, 2001, 119-20).

[8] Fritz does not note length in relation to umlaut.

There is also a difference in the results of the umlaut of *a¬*, since Sinhala shows the vowel *æ*, while Dhivehi has *e*.[9] Cain (2000, 196) regarded this as a major difference, claiming that umlaut is a parallel change, perhaps exemplifying drift, but Fritz (2002, 25) proposed that it represented a subsequent change *æ* >*e*, which is certainly a possibility.

There is a puzzle here, since coincidence seems unlikely given the nature of the change and its similar occurrence in both languages, along with the apparent absence of any areal model. If umlaut is a common change, one possibility is that it occurred in the fourth century, and that separation would have occurred later but that the change had perhaps spread in stages in Dhivehi, with **a* >ə occurring first and the others not reaching some dialects. In any case, this invites further investigation.[10]

As another instance, the OIA dental-retroflex distinction in nasals and laterals was lost in Sinhala, but maintained in Dhivehi, (Fritz 2002, 35; Cain 2000, 204).[11] The Sinhala merger of dentals took place after the mid-8th century CE (Karunatillake 2001, 114), which, as Cain notes, is evidence that the languages were independent prior to that date, contrary to the proposal by Wilhelm Geiger (1919) that Dhivehi was a dialectal offshoot of Sinhala and with the split occurring no earlier than the 10th century; a view also rejected by Fritz on non-linguistic grounds (2002, 9-10).

As stated earlier, Sinhala and Dhivehi, whatever the details of their relational history, share a number of features with the non-IA languages of the area, and we can now turn to an account of that relationship. The list in (1), presents the syntactic characteristics of the South-South subarea, as I have been able to determine them so far.

(1) South-South Asian Areal Features:

1.1 Question marker at end of sentence (postverbal) as the unmarked location, but it may also occur on questioned sentence-internal constituents.

1.2. Subordinate Clauses marked at the end, by a verbal affix or a conjunctive form of some kind, rather than by initial conjunctions (which are rare or missing altogether except for sentence adverbs).

1.3. Sentence-Final quotative from 'say'.

1.4. Preposed Relative Clauses (Adjectival Sentences) as the only or main alternative.

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9. Although only long vowels were affected by umlaut, there was subsequent vowel shortening. See Karunatillake 2001, 62-63, 81-83. Also, from the fourth to the seventh century CE, Sinhala inscriptions write the result of umlaut of *a¬* as *e* but this is clearly graphic, since *æ* is written from the seventh century and /e/ and /æ/ remain distinct subsequently and to the present.

10 For details on umlaut and its subsequent distribution see Cain 2000, 192 ff. and Fritz 2002, 25-28, 202.

11 The retroflex and dental nasals subsequently merged in (Malé) Dhivehi, but the contrast was maintained in the southern dialects of Ad†d†u and Fua' Mulaku.

1.5. Where they do occur, correlatives use a WH rather than a correlative form of the Indo-Aryan type[12] and are generally restricted to indefinite or conditional contexts and commonly with a sentence particle (dubitative or question) on the subordinate clause.

1.6. Sentences may be nominalized without genitivization (or deletion) of subject, by employing a sentence-final form or verbal affix.

1.7. Focused (Nominal Cleft) Sentences, including those with rightward focus.

1.8. Negatives:

1. Negative varies with type of main clause (Verbal, Equational, Existential).
2. Negative verbs in subordinate clauses.
3. Cleft sentences negated like nominal equational.[13]

1.9. Conjunctive participles may occur with overt lexical subjects, not co-indexed with main subject (or agent). This is true of at least Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu as well as Sinhala and Dhivehi, but has not yet been fully investigated in the others.

These features are shared by all of the Southern Dravidian languages, and Sinhala and Dhivehi exhibit the full set, except for (8.3) in Dhivehi, which uses the same negative prefix for verbs in focused and non-focused sentences (Cain and Gair 2000, 42).[14] Their existence in the isolated Indo-Aryan languages while being absent from their northern relatives,[15] can reasonably be considered to be a result of contact. We might note that all or most of them also represent increased adherence to a "rigid" right-headed SOV pattern, as is clearly the case with numbers (1.1) through (1.4,) and so do represent a structured constellation of features. There are also some relevant features shared by some but not all of the languages, given in (2).

(2) Features shared by only a subset of the languages:

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[12] Sinhala is an exception here. It does use a reflex of the IA *ya* correlative in this construction, but it does have the other features with the same semantic restrictions. The indefinite correlative *yam* is also restricted to this use, and there is no relative pronoun. Thus Reynolds 1964 (137, n. 38) "There is no Sinhalese equivalent to the Sanskrit pronominal *yaḥ*, though there is an adverbial particle *yam*." The correlative is also limited essentially to the literary language and absent from the colloquial varieties.

[13] The differential negation in different types of main clauses has been lost in much mainland spoken Tamil, but is retained in Literary Tamil (Lehmann 1989, pp 229-31) and in Sri Lanka (Jaffna) Tamil.

[14] Although Dakkhini Hindi is dealt with only tangentially here, it should be noted that it also shares them to a large extent, though it may also have alternate forms for some features like the functional equivalents in standard (northern) Hindi-Urdu. (See particularly Arora 1986, Mohiddin 1981)

[15] Some of them are to be found in northern languages, but in a scattered distribution. Thus Bengali has a sentence final 'say' complementizer *bole* as well as to a sentence initial one. For Bengali also, Dravidian influence has been proposed, though separately from the area here. See esp. Klaiman 1977, and Subbarao, Rao, Saxena and Rau 1989.

2.1. Marking of questioned constituents by the question marker with obligatory clefting.

2.2. (Semi-) obligatory clefting of interrogative (WH) forms ('who, what, where,' etc.)

In the remainder of this paper, I will be concerned specifically one linked subset of features, numbers (1.1) and (1.7), together with (2.1) and (2.2) as they are exhibited in Sinhala and Dhivehi. I will also draw comparisons with Dravidian, using selected examples owing to length limitations.[16] Finally, I will return briefly to the historical relation of Sinhala and Dhivehi as it relates to those features.

The focused or cleft sentence construction at issue is a characteristic of all of the Southern Dravidian languages, and has as its defining features a nominalized verb form, characteristically formed with a third person neuter pronominal form, and a focused constituent, coindexed with a null element within the nominalized sentence. In rough schematic form, it is as in (3). Various theoretical accounts have been proposed for this structure, but a general descriptive characterization will suffice here:

(3) $[_S \ldots [\varnothing_I \ldots$V-TNS-NOM] $XP_i]$

3Neut FOCUS

An example, from Sri Lanka Tamil, with the focused element italicized, is given in (4):

(4) naan poonatu *yaaLppaaNatukku*
I go-PAST-NOM(3 Neut) Jaffna-DAT
'It was to Jaffna that I went.'

As far as I have been able to determine, this structure occurs in all of the Southern Dravidian languages, but in no Indo-Aryan language outside the southern area. The focus is shown as rightward and post-verbal in (2) and (3), and that appears to be its unmarked position in at least Tamil, Telugu and Kannada (Gair, Suseendirarajah and Karunatilaka 1978, 180; Schiffman 1979, 129; Sridhar 1990, 140). However, it has been argued that the unmarked position for Malayalam is immediately pre-verbal (Jayaseelan 1996), and for many of the languages including Malayalam, alternate orders, including *in situ*, are possible.[17]

Though absent from the northern Indo-Aryan languages, including Marathi, The construction does occur in Sinhala and Dhivehi and there is a variant in Dakkhini Hindi. Examples are given in (5.1-3), with the focused element in italics:

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[16] A more inclusive set of examples from the Dravidian languages as well as Sinhala and Dhivehi was given in Gair 2001, as yet unpublished.

[17] Though we cannot address it here, the order possibilities and markedness of different orders are of course of interest and importance in relation to change and universals. For example, the preverbal focus position proposed for Malayalam has been proposed for SOV languages (Greenberg type XXIII) in general (Kim 1988) as well as for other languages such as Hungarian (Horvath 1981). On the other hand, the rightward extraposed position has been dealt extensively if inconclusively with in the literature in relation to different pragmatic features as antitopic (as in Chafe1976) as well as Focus. For Sinhala and Tamil specifically and a challenge to the preverbal position as unmarked focus see Herring and Paolillo 1992.

(4). Cleft Structures in Indo-Aryan Languages in the Southern Subarea:

4.1 Colloquial Sinhala:

a. mamå yanne *gamətṭə*
I-NOM go-PRES-FOC village-DAT
'It is to the village that I am going'

4.2 Dhivehi:

a. aharen dan• *e avašaš*
I go.PRES.FOC that neighborhood.DAT
'It is to that neighborhood that I am going.

4.3 Dakkhini Hindi:

mai jaare so *gāū ich ai*
I go-CONT PRON village EMPH COP
'It is to the village that I go.'

(Harbir Arora P.C.)

In all of the languages, Dravidian or Indo-Aryan, except for Sinhala and Dakkhini Hindi, the verb form appearing in the presupposition is built by attaching an affix or clitic to the verb form that appears in the preposed relative clause listed in (1.4), often referred to as "participial" or "verbal adjective" relatives. As noted earlier, for Dravidian, the affix or clitic is characteristically third person neuter. The focusing verb form in current Sinhala uses specialized affix *(nn)e/ ee*, used only in the cleft construction and one type of negative. However, that affix is the probable reflex of a third person masculine/neuter form in earlier Sinhala, so that the parallel with Dravidian held at an earlier time (Gair 1986/1998a, Paolillo 1994).

The verbal form in Dhivehi clefts is identical, in all tenses, to the progressive aspect form in all tenses. However, it is restricted to the third person form in this structure which is otherwise like Sinhala. (See Cain 2000, Cain and Gair 1995, 2000).

The Dakkhini structure makes use of the third person masculine-neuter pronoun *so*, but Dakkhini lacks a relativizing verb form and it follows a tensed finite verb.

It is worth noting that although we are confining ourselves to the cleft structure here, that structure is linked to some of the other Dravidian based areal features given in (1). In all of the Dravidian languages, the verb form appearing in cleft sentences is the same one used in the nominalized sentences listed as an areal feature in (1.6), and thus the presuppositional portion, except for the null element coindexed with the focus, is the same in form as the nominalized sentence in (1.6). Also, since the focusing verb form is built with the "participial" relative form plus a third person pronominal, the

presuppositional segment resembles a pronominal headed relative clause.[18] This is not the case in current Spoken Sinhala, in which the nominalized sentence is formed with the numeral *ekå* 'one'with the *(nn)e/ee* having lost its nominal character to become a specialized for focus and negation as mentioned earlier (see Gair 1986 and Paolillo 1994). In Dakkhini, the same verb *+so* combination that appears in the cleft structure forms preposed relative clauses as well, so that the relation holds here as well. In all of these structures, one Dravidian feature is that there is no case change or obligatory null from finite counterparts, including the case of the subject, unlike in participial modifiers in the more familiar European languages, and in the Northern Indo-Aryan ones.[19]

Given the strong parallelism of the southern IA structures to Dravidian and the absence of similar form in the northern IA languages, syntactic borrowing seems clear. As I have pointed elsewhere in more detail (Gair 1986), in Sinhala, the cleft structure, apparently initially based on a Dravidian calque, is now an important aspect of the language, highly visible pragmatically in discourse, and integrated into the grammar into a complex but neat subsystem with other aspects of syntax, including negation, and interrogatives, and has been extended to non-verbal sentences. This is also the case in Dhivehi (Cain and Gair 2000, 51-54).

In Sinhala, as in Tamil and Malayalam[20], Cleft and non-cleft sentences require different sentence final negators, and this parallels negation in nominal equational versus adjectival and verbal sentences, as illustrated in (5) and (6).

(5) Negation of Tamil (Jaffna) Equational, Adjectival, and Verbal Sentences:

5.1 "Simple" Verbal Sentence Negation:

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[18]The nominalized sentence and the presupposition of the cleft structure thus also bears resemblance to a relative clause with a pronominal head, though it can be shown to be distinct both syntactically and semantically. NP NP (BE) sentences like the following with a pronominally headed relative structure as head are also possible, as in (Sinhala does not use an overt copula):

[e gamee innå aya] apee yaaluwo
that village-LOC be(ANIM)-REL Pronominal-PL our friends
'The people who live in that village are our friends.'

The Malayalam "pseudo-cleft" sentences discussed at length by Madhavan 1987 as distinct from clefts are of this type.

However, the cleft sentence, despite its resemblance to NP NP (be) equational sentences with a nominalized clause subject, also differs in important ways from them. For one thing, the pronominal element in the presupposition clause does not vary with person and number of the referent, as a pronominal relative head does (note the plural pronominal in the example immediately above) Also, the two types differ in their internal anaphoric properties. For Sinhala, see Gair and Karunatillake 2000.

[19] Although both the Sinhala nominalized sentence with *ekå* and the preposed "participial" relative are like their Dravidian counterparts in not requiring the subject to be null or appear in an oblique case, the subject of the presupposition clause in earlier Sinhala, and still in current Literary Sinhala, must be in the oblique/accusative, as well as in in the relative clause. An example from *AmaÒvatura* ca. 12th century quoted in Reynolds 1964, p. 140-(word by word gloss mine, and transcription slightly altered-JWG):

e-ma sañdaha¬-ya ma¬ pÅrum piru¬ye¬
that-EMPH for-EMPH I-ACC paramitas fulfil-PAST-NOM-3sg.
'It is for that reason that I-ACC[19] have fulfilled the paramitas.'

[20] In current mainland spoken Tamil, the distinction is lost, but it is present in earlier Tamil, and retained in Jaffna Tamil, as it is in Malayalam.

naan eppavum toocay caappiTu illay
I always dosai eat-INFIN NEG (illay)
'I don't always eat dosai.'

5.2 Adjectival (Attributive) Sentence Negation:

anta puttakam nallatillay (<nallatu+illay).
that book good-(NEUT)-NEG (illay)
'that book is not good.'

5.3 Nominal Equational Sentence Negation:

avar oru vaattiyaar alla
he-POL one teacher not NEG (alla)
'He is not a teacher.'

5.4 Clefted Sentence Negation

naan eppavum caappiTuRatu toocay alla.
I always eat-PRES-VBLNOM dosai NEG (alla)
'It is not dosai that I always eat.

(6) Negation of Sinhala Equational, Adjectival, and Verbal Sentences:

6.1 ("Simple" Verbal Sentence Negation)

ee miniha iiye gunåpaalåṭṭå salli dunne nææ
that man yesterday Gunapala money gave-EMPH NEG (nÅÅ)
'That man did not give Gunapala money yesterday.'

6.2 Adjectival (Attributive) Sentence Negation

mee potə hoñdə nææ.
this book good NEG (nÅÅ)
'This book is not good.'

6.3 Nominal Equational Sentence Negation:

mee potə puskolə potak nemeyi.
this book ola-leaf book-INDEF NEG (nemeyi)
'This is not an ola leaf manuscript.'

6.4 Clefted Sentence Negation:

iiye gunəpaaləṭə salli dunne ee miniha.
yesterday Gunapala-DAT money gave-FOC that man (nemeyi)
'It was not that man who gave Gunapala money yesterday'

In Dhivehi, however, the situation is different. There, cleft sentences, like simple verbal ones, negate with a verbal prefix *nu*. Also, in simple sentence negation, unlike Sinhala, tense and aspect are generally neutralized to the simple present, but these categories are retained in cleft sentences. Here also, there are resemblances to

Dravidian. Thus in both Sinhala and Dravidian negation, there are clear parallels with Dravidian, again suggesting the influence of contact, but the nature of the parallels are different in terms of the specific features involved.[21]

In both Sinhala and Dhivehi, the degree of interaction between syntactic focusing and question formation is high. The nature of the interaction is essentially the same in both, but the features involved are shared differentially with specific Dravidian languages. This will be discussed in more detail subsequently, but in both languages, "simple" yes-no questions are formed with a sentence-final question marker as the unmarked variant (7.1-7.2), just as they are in Dravidian (Tamil and Telugu examples 7.3-7.4). Interestingly, Marathi, which was listed earlier as transitional to the area, has also developed this feature (7.9), as has Dakkhini Hindi (7,6).

(7). Sentence Final Question Marker as the Unmarked Variant):

7.1 Sinhala:

eyaa heṭə kolåm̃ bə yanəwa *də*?
(s)he tomorrow Colombo go-PRESENT-QUES
'Is (s)he going to Colombo tomorrow?'

7.2 Dhivehi:

astā, eñgi nulavvā *tō* ?
Oh know PRT NEG-put CAUS-HAB Q (polite)
Oh!, You didn't know?

7.3 Tamil:

avar naalaykku(k) koLampukku(p) pooRaar*aa*?
(Sri Lankan)he tomorrow Colombo-DATIVE go-RES-3rd Sg Masc.-QUES
'Is he going to Colombo tomorrow?

7.4 Telugu:

miiru laNDan reepu weLtunaar*aa*?
you London tomorrow go-Agr-Q
'Are you going to London tomorrow?

(Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985, 232)

7.5 Marathi:

apla bhau ithå: rahto ka
your brother here live Q
'Does your brother live here?'

(Kavadi and Southworth 1965, 23)

[21] The parallelism between Sinhala and South Dravidian is even stronger when the historical morphology of the forms is considered. In both cases, the simple question negator is formed on an existential root and the cleft/nominal negator is formed on a copula root (i.e., 'exist' vs. 'be/become').

7.6 Dakkhini:

vā jaanaa bolke soce *kyaa*
there to-go compl. thought Q
'Have you thought of going there?

(Subbarao and Arora 1989, 109)

It is a fair assumption that the last two Indo-Aryan languages here our area began with the *kyaa* (Sanskrit *kim*) initial question marker still prevalent in the much of the North, including at least Hindi, and Panjabi, and migrated to s sentence final position as a result of contact.[22]

We should note in passing that the apparent effects of contact are in this case in the direction of a well-attested typological association between SOV and final Q placement (Greenberg 1966, 83; Dryer 1992 table 30), so that this appears to be an instance where areal pressure facilitates movement toward typological regularity.

Although the unmarked position of the question marker is postverbal and final, it may occur on sentence-internal constituents in the languages under consideration here, as in the Tamil examples (8.1-2) from Lehmann 1989 (232-233- transcription retained)):

(8) Tamil Questioned Constituents:

8.1 kumaar ne<u>rr</u>u *raajaa-v-ai-y-aa* aṭi-tt-aa<u>n</u>?
Kumar yesterday Raja-acc-Q beat-past-3masc
'Was it Raja that Kumar beat yesterday?'

8.2 kumaar *ne<u>rr</u>-aa* raajaa-v-ai aṭi-tt-aa<u>n</u>?
Kumar yesterday-Q Raja-acc beat-past-3masc
'Was it yesterday that Kumar beat Raja?'

Lehmann notes (ibid. 232) that such placement results in "a focused yes-no question", so that "only the constituent to which the *–aa* is added is interrogated, while the remainder of the proposition is presupposed". Note that in these Tamil examples, the verb agrees with the subject, and the sentences differ from a declarative or simple yes-no question only in the placement of the question marker.

In Sinhala and Dhivehi, however, the semantic focusing with the question particle is intimately linked to syntactic focusing, i.e., clefting, and clefting is obligatory in such sentences. Note the different verb forms in the simple question (9.1 (= 7.1)) and in the constituent questioned ones in (9.2) and (9.3). Note also that (9.2) and (9.3) show both the *in situ* and right proposed orders possible in Sinhala, and other orders are possible. The unclefted variant with the non-focusing verb (9.4) of (9.2) is ungrammatical, as would be the equivalents for the other forms.

[22] Final Q-placement does in fact occur in the north where it is characteristic of Tibeto-Burman languages. It also occurs with some Indo-Aryan languages but they are scattered, and in some cases contact with Tibeto-Burman does not seem unlikely, though this needs further investigation before it can be invoked. See Dasgupta and Manoharan 1990 p.91.

(9) Sinhala Questioned Constituents:

9.1 eyaa heṭə kolåm̃ bə yanåwa *də*?
(s)he tomorrow Colombo go-pres-indic -Q
'Is (s)he going to Colombo tomorrow?'

9.2 eyaa *heṭə də* kolåm̃ bə yanne?
(s)he tomorrow QUES Colombo go-pres-FOC
'Is it tomorrow that (s)he is going to Colombo?'

9.3 eyaa koləm̃ bå yanne *heṭə də*?
(s)he Colombo go-pres-FOC - tomorrow Q
'Is it tomorrow that (s)he is going to Colombo?'

9.4 *eyaa heṭə də koləm̃ bə yanåwa?
(s)he tomorrow Q Colombo go-pres-indic
'Is it tomorrow that (s)he is going to Colombo?

Dhivehi is like Sinhala, as in (10)

(10). Dhivehi Questioned Constituents

10.1	*e bōtu-gai*	*ta*	e	kuḍa tuttu	vī?
	that boat-LOC	QP	that	Kuda Tuttu	become.PST-FOC
	'Was that the boat that (that) Kuda Tuttu was on?'				
10.2	bākī faisā		dinīinīin/	*rañgaḷaš ta*?	
	change money		give.PST.FOC	good.DAT	QP
	'Did you give the correct change?'				

(Cain and Gair 2000, 53):

As noted earlier, Tamil does not require clefting in non-WH constituent questions, and this is true of Sri Lankan (Jaffna) Tamil as well. (11.1) is a neutral yes-no question, and the question marker accordingly follows the verb. (11.2) has an internal constituent, in this case the subject, questioned with the question marker *–aa*, but the third person masculine (honorific) agreement is retained throughout showing that no clefting has occurred (Gair, Suseendirarajah and Karunatilaka 1978 p.150).

(11) Tamil Questioned Constituents:

11.1 avar naaLaikku-k koLumpukku-p pooRaaraa?
he-Q tomorrow-Q Colombo-DAT go-Pres-3masc
'Is he going to Colombo tomorrow?

11.2 *avaraa* naaLaikku-k koLumpukku-p pooRaar?
he-Q tomorrow-Q Colombo-DAT go-Pres-3masc
'Is it he who is going to Colombo tomorrow?

This is interesting because it is Tamil that is generally mentioned as the source of Dravidian influence on Sinhala. Some of the other Dravidian languages, however, show a pattern more like that in Sinhala.

Kannada and Tulu require clefting: (Sridhar1990, 142 for Kannada, Somashekar 1999, 23-24 and p.c. for Tulu. Also see Bhatt 1967,110-111 for a different Tulu dialect).

Malayalam is similar in requiring clefting for questioned consituents, though the question marker *–oo* cannot be added directly to a constituent (K. Jayaseelan p.c.), but must be attached to the form *aan˘å*, a copula form that also serves as a focus marker in Malayalam non -interrogative clefts. [23] This will be discussed later in connection with WH questions.

In Telugu, clefting is "normal" with constituent questions according to Krishnamurti and Gwynn, pp. 231-2) and is required, according to K.V Subbarao (p.c.), as in (12):[24]

(12) Telugu Clefted Constituent:

miiru laNDan weLLaTam *reepaa?*
you London go-NOM tomorrow-Q
'Is it tomorrow that you are going to London?'

(Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985, 232)

Turning now to WH questions: in Sinhala, clefting is virtually obligatory, and syntactic focus interacts with the placement of the question marker *då*. It is a general property of *då* that its occurrence on any constituent other than the verb requires that the constituent be syntactically as well as semantically focused; that is, clefting is required. This property of *då* is shared with several other clitics or particles, with a range of grammatical and semantic functions including the reportative *lu*, the conjunction *na©* 'if', the comparative *wagee*, and the emphatics *tamaa*, *tamay,* and *–yi*. Put otherwise, these forms are restricted in occurrence to the focus of a cleft sentence or the predicator of a non-clefted clause,[25] and thus have all been classed as "focus marking forms" (since Gair 1970), though "focus inducing forms" might have been more appropriate.[26]

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[23] Thus Asher and Kumari 1997: "Focus of yes-no questions is frequently achieved by clefting, with the copula *–aan˘å* being attached to the focused element" p. 183.

[24] Narayanarao (p.c). has provided a Telugu example that is non-clefted despite the question marker on a constituent, so it may be that there is some other condition involved here, though clefting is usual: *miiru laNDanaa weLtunaaru* /you London-Q go-2-PO/'Is it to London that you are going?

[25] The term "predicator" is more appropriate than "finite verb" here, since it subsumes it, and the statement concerning focus and the placement of *då* and similar forms holds for non-verbal as well as verbal sentences, See particularly Gair and Paolillo "Sinhala Nonverbal Sentences and Argument Structure" in Gair 1998 pp. 876-107

[26] Similarly, the term "emphatic" or "focus(ing) for the verbal affix in clefts might well have been better called an "anti-focus" form as suggested by Bruce Cain who used it in some of his work, but the other terms have come quite into general use.

One apparently unusual feature of Sinhala in the area and generally is that WH forms, with rare but principled exceptions, co-occur with the question marker *då,* and the *då* commonly occurs immediately following the WH form; so much so that some dictionaries have listed the combination as a unit. As stated above, *då* is a focus-inducing form that provides interrogative force and is linked to focus, so that both WH and non-WH questioned constituents undergo clefting in accordance with the general rule applying to syntactic focus that does not include the verb. This contrasts with the situation in simple yes-no questions, in which some stretch of the sentence including the verb is questioned, and can be considered to represent the unmarked locus of focus, so that the question marker appears post-verbally in accordance with its focus-marking character.[27] (3.1) illustrates a clefted WH question; the noncleftedvariant in (13.2) is generally unacceptable if not downright ungrammatical:

(13) Clefted and Non-clefted WH Questions in Sinhala:

13.1 Clefted:

laməya kenittuwe kaawədə ?
child-NOM pinch-PAST-FOC who-ACC -QUES
'Whom did the child pinch?'

13.2 Nonclefted:

????laməya kaawə kenittuwa də ?
child-NOM who-ACC pinch-PAST QUES
Whom did the child pinch?

Further examples are given in (14). Note that the rule holds regardless of constituent order of the grammatical relation of the questioned constituent:

(14) Sinhala Clefted WH Questions

14.1. gunəpaalə *monəwa də* keruwe?
Gunapala what(pl) QUES do-PAST-FOC
'What did Gunapala do?

14.2 siripaalə mee wæḍə keruwe *kohomə də?*
Siripala this work do-PAST-FOC now Q.
'How did Gunapala do this work?'

14.3 *mokəṭə də* dæn gaməṭə yanne?
what-DAT Q now village-DAT go-PRES-FOC
'Why (what for) are you going to the village now?'

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[27] One can say that in an ordinary yes-no question, as in a declarative statement, there is an unmarked focus on some stretch of the sentence that includes the verb and may range up to the entire proposition; a position taken in Gair 1970 and subsequently, and adopted in Paolillo 1994. Obviously, as stated this would apply straightforwardly only to sentences with a surface SOV order, and requires adjustment for scrambled sentences. It is also necessary to include non-verbal sentences as in Gair 1970 and Gair and Paolillo (1989) 1998.

There are exceptions to the clefting of WH. One is in quantifier WH questions (15.1) (for which I have no good explanation at present), but in which clefting is possible with a difference in meaning except emphasis, as in (15.2). As expected, in the non-clefted version the question marker must follow the verb.

(15) Sinhala Quantifier WH:

15.1. miniha siini koccərə gatta də?
man sugar how-much get-PAST-BASIC Q
'How much sugar did the fellow get?'

15.2 miniha *siini koccərə də* gatte?
man sugar how-much Q get-PAST-FOC
'How much sugar was it that the fellow got?'

Also, WH forms can occur syntactically unfocused in contexts that we might characterize loosely as "general doubt":, as when embedded under negated verbs like *dannåva* 'know', *teerenåva* 'understand' or in independent questions roughly with a sense like 'what on earth', 'can it be that...') as in (16) Note again that the verb is in the ordinary finite (basic) form, and compare (16.2) with (14.1) above.

(16) Sinhala Non-Clefted WH

16.1. miniha monəwa kərənəwa də danne nææ.
man what-PI do-PRES-BASIC Q know-FOC NEG
'(I) don't know what he's doing.'

16.2 *gunapaalə monəwa kərənəwa də?*
' Gunapala what-PL do-PRES-BASIC Q
'What (on earth) is Gunapala doing?'.

The situation is essentially the same in Dhivehi. WH questions are regularly clefted, as in (17), but as in Sinhala, quantity WH are an exceptions to obligatory clefting, as in (17.1), but permit it as in (17.2).

(17) Dhivehi Quantifier WH:

17.1	e	m¥haku hakuru	kihāvarakaṣ̌	gat	ta?
	that	person.NSPC	sugar	how much	get.PST. QP
	'How much was the sugar that that person bought?'				
17.2	e	mīhaku hakuru	gattī	*kihāvarakaṣ̌*	ta?
	that	person.NSPC	sugar	get.PST.FOC.	how muchQP
	'That person bought the sugar for how much?'				

(Cain and Gair 2000, pp. 53-54)

However, there is an important difference in clefted WH. Though WH clefting is normal in Dhivehi as in Sinhala, the occurrence and placement of the question particle with WH differs, In Dhivehi, it is optional, and if it does occur it may appear following either the WH form or the verb, as (18.1-18.3) illustrate. This is particularly interesting,

given the focusing of questioned constituents described above, and invites further investigation. One possibility is that the intimate relation of WH and the question particle that holds in Sinhala has not developed in Dhivehi, despite their possible co-occurrence, and this bears some resemblance to the situation in earlier Sinhala, described briefly later.

(18) Dhivehi Clefted WH Questions:

18.1 kalē danī kon *taākaş* *ta*?
you go.PRE.FOC which place.DAT QP
Where are you going?'

18.2 *kon* *tākas* danī?
which place.DAT go.PRE.FOC
'Where are (you) going?'

18.3 alī/ *kīkē* bunī ta?
Ali what.QS say.PST.FOC QP
'What did Ali say?'

The Dravidian languages vary with regard to clefting of WH. Tamil does not require it, as the non-clefted questions in (19) demonstrate:

19. Tamil Non-Clefted:

aar inta veelayay-c ceyvinam ?
who this work-ACC do-FUT-3Pl.
'Who will do this work? (Sri Lankan)

kumaar eppotu va-nt-aan
Kumar which-time come-pst-3sm
When did Kumar come?' (Lehmann 1989, 224)

We might expect this, given the non-clefting of non-WH questioned constituents in Tamil as in (11) earlier, but in Kannada (20-21)[28] and Tulu (22-23), although questioned non-WH constituents are regularly clefted, this is not required for WH.

(20) Kannada Non-Clefted :
ya:ru ja:farnige na:Le maida:nalli ka:lceNDannu kodaliliddare
who Jaffar-dat tomorrow playground-loc football-acc give-inf-be-n.past-3pl
'WHo's going to give Jaffar the football in the playground tomorrow?'
(Sridhar 1990, 9)

[28] "Question word questions are formed by substituting a question word for the questioned constituent in the statement. There is no necessary word order change, although the question word may be placed sentence initially or preverbally as a stylistic alternative" Sridhar 1990, 8.

naan een maaDtiini?
I what do-pres-1sg
'What do I do?' Schiffman 1979, 130
(word-by word gloss mine-JWG)

(21) Kannada Clefted:

naan een maaDoodu?
I what do-pres-nom
'What can/should I do?' Schiffman 1979, 130
(word-by word gloss mine-JWG)

(22). Tulu Non-clefted

aaye eepa batte?
he when come
'When did he come?' (Bhatt 1967, 11-112, S. Somashekar p.c.)

(23) Tulu Clefted:

yii/i undeni maata tuupuni eepa?
yii und-eni maata tuu-p-(u)ni eepa
you these-Acc all see-nonpast-foc when
'When are you going to see all these things?'
(S. Somashekar p.c.)

Malayalam WH and clefting have been more intensively investigated than the others, except for Sinhala, particularly within a generative framework (esp. Madhavan 1987, Jayaseelan 1990, Srikumar 1991), and it is clear that the cleft focusing of WH is essentially obligatory, as in Sinhala. Examples are given in (24) and (25):

(24) Malayalam Non-clefted:

?? kuṭṭi aare n̲uḷḷi ?
child-NOM who-ACC pinched
'Whom did the child pinch?

(25) Malayalam Clefted:

kuṭṭi *aare aaṇə* n̲uḷḷiatə?
child-NOM who-ACC-be=(FOC) pinch-PAST-NOM (Neut)
'Whom did the child pinch? (Madhavan, 1987, p. 197)

Madhavan remarks regarding (27) (1987, p. 197):

> The degree of preference that goes with the clefted [focused] version is too strong for it to be put down as a matter of stylistic choice. Given a sentence like ...(a) [above], native speakers rejected it out of hand as a non-sentence, and often what meaning I had in mind for such a sentence. (Ibid.).

Malayalam is similar to Sinhala in the required clefting of WH as well as Non-WH questioned forms, but differs from it in that the question marker does not co-occur with WH forms. Also, the 'be' form *aan'ǎ* that was seen to occur along with the question marker following non-WH questioned constituents occurs with clefted WH forms, but without the question particle. A comparison of Malayalam with Kannada and Tulu is suggestive in that all three show a difference in the occurrence of the question marker with the two different kinds of questioned elements but the latter two do not have regular WH clefting. Sinhala, on the other hand, has developed a system in which there is the obligatory occurrence the question marker with both kinds of constituents along with obligatory clefting of both.

As stated earlier the Sinhala and Dhivehi focusing cleft structures seem clearly to reflect Dravidian influence in their origin. However, as we have seen, they share several associated features differentially with Dravidian languages. This raises the question as to whether those features were borrowed into Sinhala as a constellation from some source, or whether what entered the language initially was a "stripped" model resembling current Tamil with the remainder arising from internal developments.

If one were to draw conclusions simply on the basis of geography and a descriptive comparison, one might be excused for reaching the conclusion that the entire Sinhala clefting and interrogative complex was a result of Malayalam influence, since Malayalam and Tamil are close geographically and Malayalam and Sinhala share a fuller complement of features.

However, in this instance, we have considerable evidence against this. First, what we know of the history of Sri Lanka-Kerala relations does not appear to support it, and second, internal evidence in the history of Sinhala, suggests the "stripped" version is correct, pointing to a view that I have expressed elsewhere, that the structure entered Sinhala as a Dravidian claque in a form more like Tamil, presumably from Tamil, but possibly from Tamil-Malayalam before those two split (Gair 1986).

Though the history of Sri Lanka-Kerala cultural relations has been insufficiently explored, it is generally assumed that the major Dravidian influence on Sinhala came from Tamil, given the Tamil presence on the island in one form or another over about two millennia. Thus D.E. Hettiaratchi remarked in The University of Ceylon *History of Ceylon* (1959, p. 39) that:

> The South Indian invasions of Ceylon that had taken place from early times, and the contacts that we have had from time to time with the Dravidians of South India, in particular with the Tamils, have exposed our language to Dravidian influence. Even in the inscriptions belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era, there are signs of Dravidian influence.

He goes on later to say though, but in a context concerning lexicon (ibid. p. 40):

> Of all the Dravidian languages, although it is Tamil that has exerted the greatest influence on Sinhalese, others like Telugu and Malaya¬lam too have exerted some influence.

Moreover, the question itself would lose importance if there have been internal developments in Malayalam such that the complex of features had not developed there at the time of borrowing, and the Malayalam situation was then like that of present-day Tamil. I will return to that possibility briefly later, after considering the most important evidence bearing on the basic question here, which comes from the internal history of Sinhala.[29] For Dhivehi, our evidence is, unfortunately more limited, and I will return to the Sinhala-Dhivehi question briefly later.

As stated earlier, we have a continuous inscriptional and literary record of Sinhala dating from the 3-2 centuries BCE. An apparently extensive early Buddhist literature was unfortunately lost, and the earliest available literary works date from about the 10th century on to the present day (Karunatillake 1969, Paranavitana 1956, Wijeratne 1946-1957). Fortunately, the epigraphical records continued up to and past that time, yielding a continuous record of examples of the language from 3-2 centuries BCE to the present (an unusual and probably unique feature among Indo-Aryan languages). Though relatively little work has been done on historical Sinhala syntax, there is enough evidence available to make it clear that the current cleft-interrogative complex is the result of a long period of development. Thus by the time of the *Siigiri Graffiti* (8th-10th century), we find forerunners of clefted WH questions, as in 26.1, but also non-clefted ones, as in (26.2) (word-by- word gloss mine). Note the second person agreement rather than the 3^rd^ masculine-neuter in (26.2).

(26) Siigiri Graffiti WH Questions

26.1. Clefted: ...n[o] balaya yanne kese
neg. having-looked go-PRES-NOM3sg how
'How does one go away without looking?' (Paravitana 1956 no. 261)

26.2 Non-Clefted (note the second person agreement)

sav-aḅaranin saji giri-hisa siṭihi kumaṭa
all-ornaments-INST adorned mountain-summit-LOC be-PRES-2sg what-DAT
Wherefore do you, being adorned with all ornaments, stand on the summit of the rock?'

(Paravitana 1956 no.3)

In (26), the WH forms occur without the question marker *da*, but there are instances of co-occurrence, as in (27).

(27) kese [yi] tuti da ta me kī ....
how EMPH praise Q (by) you this said
'In what manner has this praise been uttered by you?'

(Paravitana 1956 no.568)

[29] I have presented this in greater detail elsewhere (Gair 1986), and see also Paolillo (1994).

However, such instances are rare, and although questions with a WH form in *k-* are common in the inscriptions, I found only four occurrences with *då* in the 685 inscriptions in the Paravitana's published collection. Thus it seems clear that the intimate connection of WH with the question marker had not developed by that time.

By the 12-13th century *Ama¬vatura* by Gurulugomi (ca. 1200), we still find both non-clefted WH questions as in (28.1 and28.2), and apparently clefted ones as in (28.3) Note the third plural and first plural agreement in (28.1) and (28.2) respectively, but the third plural masculine-neuter in (28.3) despite the implied second person subject. Note also that the question marker is absent in (28.1), but that it does co-occur with a WH form in (28.2) and (28.3). Interestingly, in the latter two, its different placement in the clefted and non-clefted questions is in accord with present-day Sinhala, though the modern equivalent of (28.2) would probably be clefted.

(28) *Ama¬vatura* WH Questions:

28.1 (non-clefted)

mohu koyaṭa yeti.
these(people) where-DAT go-PRES 3pl
'Where are these people going?'

28.2 (non-clefted)

dæn pæviji væ kumat†a kiyam da
now ordained having-been what-DAT say-PRES 1sg Q
'Now that I am ordained, why would I say it?'

28.3 (clefted)

mese-da vaḍane kumaṭa dæ (yi kiha)
thus-also go-NOM 3sg what-DAT Q (COMP say-PAST-3pl)
'Wherefore do you go then," they asked.

(Quoted in Gair 1986, p. 160, 1998, p,168)

The nominal verb form occurs in sentences that can be interpreted as clefted, as in (28.3) and (29), but can also retain its nominal function, as in (30). Note that the first person subject in clefted (29) is in the accusative, and that the verb is third person.[30]

[30]The accusative here is required by a separate rule, still operative in Literary but not Spoken Sinhala, that restricts occurrence of the nominative to nominals coindexed with agreement. cf. note 16, and and Gair 1993 for an account. However, there was another characteristic of such sentences in the *AmaÒvatura,* that also differed from modern usage and was not retained in current literary Sinhala. There was a subject-object asymmetry in such apparently clefted sentences, such that non-subjects could be focused with the 3rd Masculine neuter nominal verb form, but subjects apparently not, and when subjects were focused with the emphatic/predication marker *ya/yä,* they still induced regular agreement on the verb. However, the third person masculine-neuter affix was in default agreement with a focused non-subject focused element, or more serving as a subject. In current Literary Sinhala, the subject of the presupposition is in the accusative, but the verb has the *(nn)e* affix regardless of person and number, as is the case with non-subjects (see Gair and

(29) ovun sañdahā-yə mā dan denne
They-ACC for EMPH I-ACC alms give-PRES-NOM-3sg.
'It is for them that I am giving alms.'
Quoted in Wijemanne 1984, p. 172 (word by word gloss mine-JWG)

(30) ayinādan gatte diliñdu veyi
not-given take-PAST- NOM-3sg poor become-3sg
'He who commits theft becomes poor'
(Quoted in Wijemanne 1984, p 157- word by word gloss mine -JWG)

Thus although the cleft sentence, or its forerunner, was in place at the time of the *AmaÒvatura*, the current system had not yet developed. In fact, except for the co-occurrence of the question marker and WH, the situation is much like Tamil, with clefted WH possible, but not required. Furthermore, the co-occurrence of the question marker with a WH form is still uncommon in that work (Wijemanne 1984, 75).

Elsewhere, (1986/1998), I have referred to the introduction of the focusing cleft structure in Sinhala and its subsequent development in the language as the "naturalization of a calque", employing the metaphor of immigration and naturalization. That is, a structure that appears on the evidence to have entered the language as a calque of a Dravidian has undergone a course of development that fully integrated it into the grammar to result in a complex focusing subsystem that plays a vital role in grammar and discourse, far wider than its model. Essentially the same is true of Dhivehi, and we may assume that there was considerable development, although we cannot trace it through the written record as we can in Sinhala.

The close parallels between Sinhala and Dhivehi in their focusing-interrogative subsystems that havebeen noted here this reflect a more general pattern in which they are highly congruent in many aspects of their grammar. [31] That raises the question once more as to how and when it came about, i.e., whether attributable to the proto-language or independent development (or some combination of both). As noted at the outset, he date of separation of the two and their relationship over time has been a matter of some dispute and uncertainty, and it is summed up in the passage in (31) (Cain and Gair 2000,1):

(31) While people from various places came to settle in the Maldives, at some point an Aryan language closely related to Sinhala became the lingua franca of the archipelago. The exact nature of the relationship between Dhivehi and Sinhala is a matter of dispute. De Silva (1970) argues that Dhivehi has a pre-

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Karunatillake 1974, 25-26). Thus the *Ama¬vatura* structure appears to be a forerunner of the full-fledged cleft structure, with a subsequent change in the agreement pattern, but more investigation is required here.

[31] The cleft structure in Sinhala has also been tightly integrated with other aspects of the grammar than those discussed here. These cannot be dealt with here with here but see Gair 1970, 1986/1998 and Gair and Paolillo 1988 and 1997. A concise general description is Gair 1997 (in French), and the history is treated in more detail in Gair 1970 1986/1998 and Paolillo 1994).

Sinhala substratum suggesting that Sinhala later came to dominate an already existing Aryan language in the archipelago. At the opposite extreme, Vitharana suggests that Dhivehi did not evolve as a separate language until after the 12th c. A.D. at which time they converted to Islam (1997: 16). Geiger (1919: 99) holds that aside from some peculiarities, Dhivehi is not unlike 10th c. A.D. Sinhala. Others have suggested that Dhivehi started showing indications of divergence when umlaut began to be operative in Sinhala in the 4th c. (Reynolds 1974: 197; Wijesundera et al. 1988: 178). The reason for such divergence of opinion is that the data itself presents some ambiguities. Dhivehi shares features with Sinhala that appear relatively late on the one hand, but it also shows significant indications of early divergence on the other. Cain (2000) presents evidence that Dhivehi began diverging from Old Sinhala by the 1st c. B.C., and he suggests that the high degree of similarity that still exists between the two languages is the result of ongoing contact between them, and Dravidian influence on both.

As noted earlier in connection with common and possibly common phonological changes, the dating of changes in Sinhala militates against a late separation as proposed by Geiger, but so does the history of the Sinhala Focused WH outlined above. The twelfth century Dhivehi texts *Loamaafaanu* (1982) and *Isdhoo Loamaafaanu* (Maniku and Wijayawardhana 1986) clearly show that Dhivehi was a separate language by that time, closely related to Medieval Sinhala, but with a considerably different lexicon (Maniku and Wijayawardhana 1982: x). What we can say with confidence is that the full system had not developed in Sinhala by the twelfth or thirteenth century, and that is far too late a date for a common proto-language origin, adding to reasons already stated on other grounds (and see Cain 2000 for a detailed account).

We cannot at present tell when the basic cleft structure, apart from its later elaboration, first appeared in the languages, or whether it resulted from influence, presumably from Dravidian, during a common period or separately afterwards. A closer inspection of the inscriptional record with that in mind might cast light on the time of importation, at least for Sinhala.

Assuming post-introduction separate development of the current system, two possibilities ptresent themselves to account for the close similarity: (a) post-separation influence from Sinhala and (b) drift, perhaps from typological pressure connected with some set of universals or near-universals. Recall that Dravidian language influence cannot be responsible for the full complex Sinhala system since all of its features are not present in any of those languages. The same appears to be the case for for Dhivehi.

Influence from Sinhala, however, is a real possibility despite the geographical separation, as Cain (2000, 252-253) summarizes in (32) :

(32) The Dhivehi and Sinhala speech communities were never totally isolated, however. While the vast expanse of sea helped create a separate speech community, it also left the way open for contact to be maintained between the Maldives and Sri Lanka throughout their respective histories. It must have been

> the case that Dhivehi continued to come under the influence of Sinhala. Trading with Sri Lanka was probably common since ancient times. Both Maldivians and Sinhalese were Buddhist prior to the 12th c., and the Maldives may have received instruction from religious centers in Sri Lanka.[32] There also may have been some small-scale immigration of Sinhala fishermen to various islands in the Maldives. Such contact would have made some degree of convergence very likely.

This general account extends to the history of the focus construction, and work remains to be done, but some possible scenarios for Sinhala influence have been presented in Cain and Gair 1995.

Turning now to the second possibility, systemic pressure or drift, we first take a brief excursion into the status of clefting in current discourse in order to identify one possible factor.

Cleft sentences are common in current Sinhala discourse, and one study (Herring and Paolillo 1995) found that in a given narrative corpus they accounted for 10.5 percent of the sentences. In fact, it would be difficult to conduct even a relatively brief conversation without employing them. Part of this is a function of their interaction with other aspects of the grammar, but Sinhala also appears to be extremely sensitive to presupposition and focus, resulting in what I have called a 'lower threshold of focusing". That is to say, speaking impressionistically, it requires less strength of focus to trigger clefting. This is not the case in Tamil, in which clefting is more marked and less frequent. Although to my knowledge a detailed study of focus in discourse has not been carried out for Dhivehi, it also appears to be common, as Cain notes (2000, 120):

> Focus constructions are quite abundant in Dhivehi, though the homophony of the focus verb with the progressive makes it difficult to tell them apart when a constituent is not post-posed. The pragmatic context calling for the focus construction includes answers to queries, and circumstances in which a choice is implied.

Returning now to the second possibility, the lower threshold of focusing gives us a clue as to what might have driven the development of the present system.

The association of WH questions with focus is well known, and has been linked to the presupposition- focus structure of clefts in a number of widespread languages in addition to Sinhala. The association of non-WH clefted constituents with focus and clefting has not been as well noted, as far as I have been able to determine, and in general, it is harder to find relevant information from available descriptions. However, that association also appears to be a natural one, and it is noteworthy that it is a feature of all of the languages here, except for Tamil, that they interrogate non-WH constituents with a question marker and cleft them. Thus the development of the Sinhala

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[32] The striking similarity between the Dhivehi Akuru script in 12th c. texts, and the script in Medieval Sinhala texts suggests strong Sinhala influence during this period.suggests strong Sinhala influence during this period.

system seems clearly to be a movement in the direction of a universal syntactic, or more precisely, syntactic-semantic tendency. We might also assume a kind of pressure toward economy and systemic integration in the development of the larger subsystem of focusing and clefting, since the end result was a the complex but neat focus centered system involving a number of elements falling under an overarching rule of focusing and associated with a lower threshold of focusing. However, the co-occurrence of WH and the question particle in Sinhala, shared in part with Dhivehi is a unique development within the area, representing an extension of the question marker *då* as a focus connected element in addition to its interrogative force. It is interesting as well that Dhivehi appears to have come part way along this path. What can safely be said here is that the Dhivehi cleft, like Sinhala, appears clearly to have its origin in a Dravidian model,.

The same two factors, operating with different strengths over time, may also help explain the differential occurrence of the features in the constellation in the Dravidian languages, but that is a matter for future more intensive investigation. In passing, however, we may note that the differences between the closely related Tamil and Malayalam observed here are of particular interest in relation to common versus independent development. The obvious question is whether the observed situation is a result of independent development in Malayalam, as in Sinhala, or loss of previously shared Proto-Tamil-Malayalam features in Tamil. The latter trajectory runs counter to the universal tendencies noted and thus inclines one toward independent development, and there is some evidence for that. The copula *cum* focus marker *aan˘å* is an integral feature of the Malayalam cleft, but appears to be a later development in equational sentences and in clefts (Prabhakaran Variar 1979). It appears unlikely that Tamil had the cleft-interrogative linkages but lost them, which would again be a counter-universal tendency, so that the complex of cleft-associated features in Malayalam seems unlikely to be an inheritance from South Dravidian through Tamil-Malayalam. A search of the grammar as represented in the literature of both languages through time would be necessary to settle this conclusively, but on the basis of present evidence, it appears likely that Malayalam underwent a course of independent development extending the functions of the cleft sentence in a fashion parallel to Sinhala.

In summary, and to bring this full circle: the Sinhala and Dhivehi focused cleft sentences provide an example of a real structural convergence initiated in contact and borrowing, but made stronger by subsequent parallel independent developments, possibly modulated by continued contact and typological pressure.

A cautionary note is in order here in relation to the use of syntactic or morphological categories in determining interfamilial or external historical relationships. As is well known, similarities in structure in two or more languages can be the result of common inheritance or contact, and to that we may add typological pressure operating in a parallel fashion. Disentangling these with only synchronic evidence in hand can easily lead to false conclusions. As we have seen here, synchronic syntactic or category evidence alone could in this instance have led to false conclusions as to the time of separation and the direction and effect of contact In this specific

situation, there is available historical textual and cultural evidence to disentangle the processes quite conclusively thanks to the Sinhala record, although a number of uncertainties remain. It is noteworthy that the crucial evidence here relied on the time-tested procedure of determining common phonological changes by the comparative method. One can easily conceive of situations that would offer a more robust methodological challenge in sorting out the effects of inheritance, contact, and internal change that reflects universal tendencies.

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Basic Intransitivity: A Typologically Relevant Feature of Indo-Aryan

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It is assumed that the contrast between reflexive (middle) verbs and transitive (active) verbs in romance languages for instance, or in German, point to the basic character of transitivity: in morphologically related pairs, the simple verb is transitive, and the intransitive with middle meanings is derived, by using a reflexive (*laver* 'to wash-tr, *se laver* 'to wash-intr')[1]. Such are the results of Kemmer's (1993)[2] study of the middle voice, with a semantic approach, as well of Genushiene (1987)[3] with a formal approach. One of the implicit consequences of such results is to conceive the basic pattern of predication as a transitive sentence, a representation of the 'typical' event with source and goal. According to semantic postulates with cognitive ground, a prototypical event is supposed to be conceived of as a process with two participants and binary opposition of agent (cause of the process) and patient (goal undergoing result). The middle or reflexive voice would then constitute a way of expressing, by reference to the 'prototypical' event, an event with single participant, whether one single participant cumulates both roles of agent and patient or is simply treated alike although there is no proper cumulation (medio-passive, decausative). In such a view, the middle voice acts as a device for relating the single participant statement to the prototypical statement, in describing an event. (hence relating a "non-typical" event to the "typical" event).

The fact that some languages exhibit evidence in their verbal lexicon for the primary character of intransitivity and not transitivity is a counter evidence for the above mentioned hypothesis. In such languages where transitive verbs are derived from basic intransitives (Comrie 2001, Haspelmath 1993), the class of intransitives expresses all the meanings usually associated to reflexive and middle voice, while the reflexive morpheme is restricted to the clear coreference of two distinct roles and are never made a voice marker. This is the case of Hindi/Urdu, and generally of Indo-Aryan languages.

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[1] In such languages the reflexive verbal pattern (*se*) represents most of the meanings attached to the middle voice: quasi passive, medio-passive (*le verre se casse* 'the glass breaks'), middle (*le soleil se lève* 'the sun rises'), autocausative (*se promener*: 'to stroll'), decausative (*s'user* 'wear out, get worn out'), apart from the truly reflexive meaning (*se regarder* 'look at oneself').

[2] Kemmer (1993 : 3-4) gives for middle voice a "purely semantic" definition, similar to Lyons (1979: 313), and only "refining it" so as not to include the categories of passive and true reflexive, not to restrict middle to the property of "subject affectedness", and make middle a "cross-linguistically valid semantic category available for potential grammatical instanciation".

[3] "The reflexive marker is broadly defined here as an element in the verb (affix, ending, etc.) or its environment (particle, pronoun, etc.) which has (or once had) a reflexive meaning (of coreference of two semantic roles) as its only or one of many functions".

1. Morphologically related pairs of transitive /intransitive predicates

1.1. Forms

Both series of verbal pairs a) and b) below display a formal alternation (Umlaut, -*â* suffixation respectively) which is semantically (middle or passive meaning) and syntactically (increased valence) significant, as shown by translations. Series a) contrasts intransitive verbal basis (I) with lax/short radical vowels and transitive basis (T) with tensed/long vowels, while series b) contrasts the same by means of a suffix (-*â*) with or without modification of the radical vowel (shortened/laxed)[4]:

Series a): **intransitive verb + Umlaut → active transitive**

mar die	*mâr* kill
chap be printed	*châp* print
kaT be cut	*kâT* cut
Dal be thrown	*Dâl* throw
sãvar get made up	*sãvâr* make up, decorate
banT be shared	*bânT* share
bigaR be wasted	*bigâR* waste
TûT break(I)	*toR* break(T)
chûT leave(I)	*choR* leave(T), abandon
phûT burst	*phoR* make burst
ruk stop(I)	*rok* stop(T)
khul open(I)	*khol* open(T)
dhul get washed	*dho* wash
<u>*sûjh*</u> be thought, come to mind	*soc* think
muR turn(I)	*moR* turn(T)
sinc be watered	*sînc* water
piT be beaten	*pîT* beat
bhind heave/crack(I)	*bîndh* heave/crack(T)
juR join(I)	*joR* join(T)
bik be sold	*bec* sell
<u>*dîkh*</u> être vu/sembler *dekh* regarder	(*dikhâ* faire voir, montrer)

[4] For the rules of these alternations, see Shapiro (1976) and Singh & Agnihotri (199?).

series b): **intransitive verb + suffix -*â* (and Umlaut) → active transitive**

saj be decorated	*sajâ* decorate
hil move (I)	*hilâ* move(T)
uR fligh(I)	*uRâ* fligh(T), make stg fly
haT move away	*haTâ* push away
baiTh sit	*biThâ* have sby sit
uTh rise	*uThâ* raise
jhûk bend(I)	*jhukâ* bend(T)
gir fall	*girâ* make fall
jâg wake up (I)	*jagâ* wake sby up (T)
bît pass(I)	*bitâ* pass (T)
bûjh be extinguished	*bujhâ* extinguish(T)
dab be suppressed	*dabâ* suppress
laR fight(I)	*laRâ* fight(T)
phans be stuck	*phansâ* stuck
pak be cooked	*pakâ* cook
paRh study	*paRhâ* teach
ban be made	*banâ* make
lag be stick, touch	*lagâ* apply, stick
bac be-saved/escape	*bacâ* save/protect
bhûl forget	*bhulâ* make forget/deliberately forget

Series b) is clearly derivational if one believes in derivation: the derived form is phonologically heavier, morphologically more complex than the basic form. Series a) etymologically too involves derivation since both forms of the alternation stem from the Sanskrit contrast between passive or medium with a weak vowel degree of the word (zero) and causative with augmented in the right column (*guna, vriddhi*)[5]. Note on the pbl (active: both). The few exceptions to this derivation, like *dikh* « appear » considered as derived from *dekh* « see/look », or *Dal* « be poured», derived from *Dâl* « pour », are

[5] Length and vowel tension is noted by ^ on *a* and *i*, otherwise by *ai* and *au*. The radical flexion by Umlaut is originally from Sanskrit which had a weak degree for passive and long degree (*vriddhi*) for causative, although not all I base in Hindi comes from a Sanskrit passive and not all T base comes from a Sanskrit causative.

sometimes treated as "anticausatives". The main argument in favour of a derivation from basic intransitives, since derivational nouns with zero suffix do not lead to any significant conclusion[6], is, besides the phonological weight mentioned above, the fact that the second derivation ("double causative" or factitive *-vâ*) is most of the time based on the intransitive form: *rukvâ* "make X stop Z" is from *ruk* "stop"(I), *kaTvânâ* "make X cut Z" from *kaT* "cut"(I), *banTvâ* "make divide(T)", from *banT* "be divided", *piTvâ* "make Z beat X", from *piT* "be beaten", *dikhvâ* « make show" from *dikh* "appear")[7]. Either we recognize no derivation at all as Singh & Agnihotri (1997) but only bi-directional relations between words, in the whole morphology of the language, or the derivation if any emphasizes the primary status of the intransitive verbs, most of the time with a medio-passive meaning.

The verbo-nominal predicates (series *c*), which alternates stative (I) and active (T) verbal forms after the same noun for the verbal notion, may formally appear as a case of equipollence in the classification of Haspelmath (1993) and Comrie (2001), yet its syntactical behaviour relates it to a) and b) series[8].

série c : verbo-nominal predicates: stative V (*honâ* to be) → active V (*karnâ* to do)

intazâm honâ to be organized	*intazâm karnâ* to organize
garam honâ/ho janâ to be/get warm	*garam karnâ* to warm (T)
khaRâ ho janâ to be standing / stand up	*khaRâ karnâ* to make x stand up, erect
alag ho jânâ to be separated	*alag karnâ* to separate
talâsh honâ to be looked for	*talâsh karnâ* look for
khâlî honâ to be empty	*khâlî karnâ* to empty
shâdî honâ to be married	*shâdî karnâ* to marry
dikhâî denâ, to be visible, appear	*dekhnâ* to look
sunâî denâ to be audible, heard	*sunnâ* to listen
pâtâ honâ to know	*pâtâ karnâ* to get to know
cintâ honâ tbe worried	*cintâ karnâ* to worry

[6] If derivational nouns are frequent on the transitive base (*rok-Tok* "obstacle", *mâr-pîT* "beating", *moR* "turn"), so are derivational nouns on the intransitive (*chûT* "exemption", *phûT* "dissension, burst", *sûjh* "perception", *sûjh-bûjh* "reason, consciousness"). As for the terms derived by suffixation, both from I and T exist (*baNTvârâ* "partition", *sincâî* "irrigation", *rukâvaT* "obstacle", *paRhâî* "studies", *joRan* "junction", *joRâ* "couple").

[7] Hindi verbs have usually three bases (I, T, causative: *nikal, nikâl, nikalvâ)*, or T, causatifve, double causative: *paRh, paRhâ, paRhvâ*) but some have only one (*talâsh* "look for"), others two, others four (*dikh, dekh, dikhâ, dikhvâ*).

[8] Apart from the two types of derived basis (T→ I, I → T) and equipollent verbs (with two distinct sets of affixes for T and I), Comrie and Haspelmath (1993) recognize a fourth category, the labile verbs (same form for T and I), quite important in English (cut, break, etc.) and very limited in Hindi/Urdu (*bhar* "fill", *baRh* "grow", *badal* "change").

1.2. Basic organization of arguments and semantic roles

The contrast between intransitive and transitive is illustrated by example (1): it contrasts a) a transitive (perfect, ergative marking of agent) with active meaning, "I broke" b) an intransitive with medio-passive meaning and patient as single argument (glass broke), and c) the morphological passive of the transitive: semantically the role Agent is present even when non represented with the T verb (c), whereas the role Patient is the single argument of the I verb. Example (2) contrasts a spontaneous process (a: I verb) which is auto-caused, as emphasized by the use of the emphatic-reflexive *apne âp*[9]and a process deliberately caused in the imperative (b: T verb).

1a. *mainne gilâs toRâ*
I-ERG glass broke(T)-3MS
I broke a glass

1b. *gilâs TûTâ*
glass-MS broke(I)MS
the glass broke

1c. *ek gilâs toRâ gayâ*
one glass break(T) PASSIVE-MS
a glass has been broken

2a. *gâRî apne âp nahîn rukegî*
car EMPH NEG stop(I)-FUT
the car won't stop by itself,

2b. *ise roko*
it-ACC stop(T)-IMPER
stop it

(1) and (2) therefore exhibit the typical opposition between semantic transitivity, an event involving both a wilful controlling agent and an affected patient, and semantic intransitivity, a spontaneous process.

In the series above, the left column is associated with a variety of semantic meanings, all ordinarily associated with the so-called reflexive or middle voice as detailed in Genushiene for instance or Kemmer: decausative (*khulnâ* open, *bannâ* be-made), autocausative (*baiThnâ* sit), reciprocal or associative (*laRnâ* fight), medio-passive or impersonal passive (*biknâ* be-sold), various meanings which would be translated by the typical *se*-middle in romance languages[10]. The only meanings which are never present are those attached with the typical reflexivity (identity of Agent and

[9] *Apne âp* used as an emphatic of subjects indicates that the process is performed without external action/help, as opposed to *khud* or *swayam*, which emphasize the identity of the subject (and would not be allowed in such example as (2a) with this meaning. See PILC

[10] In French, „s'ouvrir, se faire, s'asseoir, se battre, se vendre", in Spanish "abrirse, hacerse, sentarse, xxx, venderse", German „sich öfnen, sich sitzen, sich verkaufen", etc.

Patient, such as 'look at oneself'). Hence the preference for the term middle used here to refer to the verbal voice.

Contexts may of course favour the selection of one specific meaning in the middle constellation: *uTh* (get up) or *uR* (rise) which may select both animate and inanimate argument will receive an autocausative interpretation with an animate subject (Agent), and decausative interpretation with an inanimate subject, *laR* (fight) may be reciprocal or associative[11]. Such intransitive verbs constitute the major part of what Kemmer (1993) draws as the notional map of middle voice: non-translational motion (move, extend, open), change in body position (bent, sit, get up), translational motion (go away), cognition (know), emotion (be pleased, like), medio-passive (be sold), all corresponding to *se*-verbs in romance languages.

Intransitive predicates in Hindi are not all single argument predicates, but those which require two arguments always require as their first argument a participant devoid of volition and control on the process, a feature which sharply contrasts with the cognate transitive series in the right if no more argument is involved. When both series involve the same valence, transitivity involves a clear reshaping of the semantic roles, which substitutes an agent to an experiencer:

3a. *mujhe ek bât sûjhî*
1S-DAT one thing was-thought
I got an idea

b. *main yah soc rahâ hûn*
1S this think PROGR PRES
I think this

4a. *(hamen) choTe-choTe ghar dîkh rahe the*
(1P-DAT) small-small house appear PROGR IMPF
one could see small houses

b. *ham choTe ghar dekh rahe the*
1P small house see PROGR IMPF
we were looking at (the) small houses

The above opposition is mostly present with noun-verb predicates, with the alternation *ho* 'be' (I) vs *kar* 'do' (T) (5a-b)). However some two-place I verbo-nominal expressions (*dikhâî de, sunâî de*[12]) have a simple verb as the T cognate (6), others have no T cognate (7); most of them may add aspectual meanings by varying the verbal element in the respective I or T series (5c).

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[11] The reciprocal *ek dûsre* "one another" may be added (*donon ek dûsre se laR rahe the* "both were fighting with each other") as well as *âpas men* "mutually".

[12] It is significant that, although the verbal base is transitive, these expressions rule out the ergative pattern in the relevant aspect (*hamen choTe choTe ghar dikhâî diye /* choTe gharon ne*). The verb *dekh* may mean see as well as look (and similarly *sun* may mean listen as well as hear), but include conscious assumption as opposed to the experience predicates (cf. conclusion).

5a *usko halke rand pasand hain*
3S-DAT light colours taste are
he likes like colours

b. *tum kaunsâ rang pasand karogî?*
2 which colour taste make-FUT
what colour will you chose?

6a. *mujhe (*dhyân se) âvâzen sunâî dîn*
1S-DAT (*attentively) voice-fp was-heared-fp
I could hear voices

b. *mainne dhyân se âvâzen sunîn*
1S-ERG attention with voice-fp heard/listened -fp
I listened to the voices attentively

7. *usko laRkî acchî nahîn lagî*
3S-DAT girl good NEG seemed
he did not like the girl

5c *usko film pasand âî*
3S-DAT film-fs taste came-fs
he did not like the film

In all cases, the intransitive series alone can express a markedly non deliberate process. Besides, the use and meaning of the reflexive pronoun in Hindi sharply contrasts with the meanings of intransitives.

2. The reflexive : anaphoric pronoun and « emphatic »

2.1. Anaphoric pronouns : two clearly distinct roles in the statement

The reflexive pronoun, used when a second argument co-refers with the main argument, has three forms (*apne, svayam*, from Skr, *khud*, from Persian). Only the first one, *apne* (always followed by a postposition because it is never in the subject position) may form a reflexive possessive (*apnâ*, with gender-number variation like adjectives). Both pronoun and adjective are strictly required in simple sentences to co-refer with the main argument (nominative, 'dative subject', genitive, locative, instrumental subjects). They are locally bound as any A form in the GB model, and in complex sentences may be long-distance bound under logophoricity or empathy constraints (Montaut 1998, 2003)[13]. But in no case can the reflexive suggest the non-distinction of participants in the role they implement in order to simplify the structure of the event (« low elaboration » in Kemmer: 'se laver, wash [oneself]').

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[13] Empathy (in Kuno's meaning) may even prevail over A binding in simple statements *merâ man uskâ virodh kar rahâ thâ* « my mind was opposing [doing opposition against] itself" with the pronoun and not the reflexive, vs *merâ man apnî kitâb men lagî thî* "my mind was engulfed in my book" with reflexive and not pronoun.

8a *tum keval apne (*tumhâre) lie kâm karte ho*
you only REFL (*PRO) for work do pres
you work only for yourself

b. *tum apnâ (*tumhârâ) kâm karte ho*
you REFL (*PRO) work do pres
you do your work

9a *mujhe apne (*mere) lie Dar nahîn hai,*
1S-DAT REFL (*PRO) for fear NEG is
I don't fear for me (myself),

b. *mujhe apne dost ke lie Dar hai*
1S-DAT REFL (*PRO) friend for fear is
I fear for my friend

10a *donon laRkiyân apne/svayam/khud ko dekh rahî thîn*
the-two girl-FP REFL ACC look PROG IMPFT
both girls were looking at themselves (*at each other) (in the mirror)

In Hindi the reflexive clearly behaves as a pronoun (in the matter a true anaphoric A pronoun) replacing a distinct argument and not as a valence operator. In no case it is used to decausative a verb or make it a reciprocal or associative (10a), as also shown by (10b) which we can contrast with example in note 11 with intransitive.

10b *laRke apne âp se jûjh rahe the / kah rahe the ki*
boy-MP REFL EMPH with struggle PROG IMPFT / say PROG IMPFT that
the boys were fighting (each against oneself)/ were saying each to oneself...that

The Intransitive, not the reflexive, is used for decausative processes (11a), the Transitive alone accepts a reflexive as its object, in order to represent two distinct roles (11b), the distinctivity being optionally emphasized by the use of the emphatic[14]:

11a. *vah ThaND aur bâgh se bac saktâ thâ*
3S cold and tiger from be-saved(I) can IMPFT
he could escape both the cold and the tiger (I.)

11b. *vah apne (âp)ko bâgh aur ThaND donon se bacâ saktâ thâ*
3S REFL (EMPH)ACC tiger and cold both from save(T) could IMPFT
he could protect (save) himself both from the cold and the tiger (T)

Only a transitive verb, and never the cognate intransitive, can appear in a reflexive statement in Hindi. Transitives in Hindi are clearly correlated with role distinction, which is further evidenced by role focalization.

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[14] In the emphatic *apne âp*, *apne* is originally the inflected form of *âp* (Montaut 1998). Examples (11a) and (11b) are from Thapliyal.

2.2. Emphatics or « reflexive emphatics » as role focalizers

2.2.1. Focalizing the first argument

The strong form *apne âp*, and the simple form *svayam* ou *khud,* can be used for emphasis when adjoined to a subject (in the nominative, ergative or dative case). Such focalizers, compatible with reflexives (13), are often yet not always contrastive and always rule out the intervention of another entity in the process (13a) as is the case with –vâ causatives (13b):

12 *main <u>apne âp</u> /<u>swayam</u> / <u>khud</u> jâûngâ*
I will go <u>myself</u>

13a *main <u>apne âp /swayam /khud</u> (apnâ) kapRâ dhotî hûn*
1s EMPH (REFL) clothes wash PRES
I wash my clothes myself

13b *apne kapRe dhobî se nahîn dhulvâtî hûn*
REFL clothes washerman INSTR NEG make-wash PRES
(I) don't have my clothes washed by the washerman

However, the three forms are not absolute synonyms, and only *apne âp* emphasizes the autonomy of the subject (14), hence ruled out in stative predications (15a) and strange with predicate referring to processes usually performed with no help: (15b) with emphatic and 'sit' predicate would be meaningful only for a sick person for instance who recovers the use of his legs and spine, and with 'drink' predicate, for a baby which is performing the process for the first time alone:

14 *gâRî apne âp (*svayam/khud) calî gaî*
the car left by itself

15a *main svayam (*apne âp) DakTar hûn*
I myself am a doctor

15b *vah apne âp baiTh gayâ / pânî pitâ hai /DâkTar ban gayâ*
he sat alone / drinks water by himself / has become a doctor by his own means[15]

Reversely, *svayam/khud* tends to mark a contrastive or restrictive focus (using *swayam* in 15b would mean for instance that others drink whisky). As such, it is sensitive to logophoricity and empathy constraints, which attach to what is built by the speaker / hearer as a focus of empathy Kuno (1987): in (16) for instance, Ram only, and not Ram's brother, can be focalized by *swayam* because the context builts Ram and not his brother, who is represented as related to Ram) as the empathy focus:

16a *mainne Râm ke bhâî se bât kî; <u>Râm svayam</u> vilâyat calâ gayâ thâ*
I spoke to Ram's brother; <u>Ram himself</u> (*swayam*) had left for England

[15] The statement *vah swayam/khud pânî pîtâ hai* would mean "he himself drinks water" (cf. 15a), either in a contrastive context where other people drink alcohol or with open focus meaning such as (17).

16c *mainne Râm se bât kî ; uske bhâî *svayam vilâyat calâ gayâ thâ*
I spoke with Ram; his brother *himself had left for England

When not marking a contrastive focus, *svayam/khud* adjoined to an entity marks the crucial role played by the entity in the event, within a scalar hierarchy of possible other participants. It either emphasizes the improbability of the participant's involvement in the event ('even X') such as in (17), or its crucial relevance in the event: in the latter case such as (18), the postman is the crucial actor in a problem of stolen mail and that is why it is marked as "open focus" (Baker 1995).

17 *savâl baRpa mushkil thâ, bare paNDit svayam use hal nahîn kar pâe*
the question was very difficult, the great pandit himself could not solve it

18` *Dâkiyâ svayam bulâyâ gayâ*
the postman himself was summoned

In both cases of restricted or open focus, *svayam/khud* mark the most salient entity.

2.2.2. Focalizing other roles

A possessor can also be focalized by the adjunction of *apnâ* to the possessive pronoun (mostly in the first person). This adjunction differs from the restrictive particle *hî* (restrictive focus: 19) by the fact that it emphasizes a subjective relation between possessed and possessor rather than the factual relation, which it may even contradict in (20)[16] :

19 *ye merî apnî / merî hî kitâben hain*
these mine EMPH / mine only books are
these are my own books / my books (not yours)

20 *vah merâ baccâ nahîn hai, mainne use god le liyâ,*
3s my child NEG is, 1S-ERG 3S-ACC adopted,
par ab merâ apnâ ban gayâ hai
but now my EMPH has become

it is not my (real) child, I adopted it, but it has now became my own

Finally, the reflexive itself can be focalized (long form *apne âp* + postposition, vs simple *apne* + postposition): this emphatic reflexive is not totally 'expressive' or 'stylistic' (as it is in (10b supra) but marks that the conjoined reference implied by the use of the reflexive is particularly improbable. If optional in statements like "to look at oneself in the mirror" or "to consider oneself as", it is required in statements like "to fight against oneself" (10b), "to speak to oneself" where the process is not likely to involve the same participants in both roles (*apne âp se (?apne se) bât karnâ*).

[16] In concordance with the meaning of the derived lexical items, which all retain the feature 'self', 'the self linked to the group, family or clan (*apne*: those close to self, *apnânâ* "integrate, make something ones own", *apnâpan* "subjective integration, communion" (as opposed to *parâyapan*, "otherness"). As for the etymology of the form (*apnâ* < *âtmana*, center of the body, then, absolute principle, cosmic principle (cf. *khud/khudâ*- 'God'), the body, or main body part, main person, is a common source of reflexives.

2.3. The relation between reflexives and emphatics in Hindi : distinctiveness

Both morphologically related forms of the reflexive (*apne*) and focalizer (*apne âp, apne, âp*) behave as markers for apparently very different relations[17]: as a reflexive, the form marks the identity of the participant involved in two roles and arguments (coreference). As a role focalizer, it marks the distinctiveness of the role. However, the role marked by the reflexive as well as the role focalized by the emphatic never tend to lose their distinctiveness as roles. The meanings of statements involving reflexives never shifts towards a reduction of valence (cf. supra) with a merging of subject and object into a single role, a fusion sometimes referred as "semantic edulcoration" of the event, made by the operation less complex (Kemmer). Such a merging is typical of languages using the reflexive to reduce the valence, like French, romance languages, German, and is generally accompanied by a formal reduction (atonicity, morphological erosion) of the lexical item used for reflexivation. Besides, such languages never use the reflexive marker as a marker for focalization: French like romance languages has "se" for the reflexive but the adjunct "même" for focalisation, German has respectively "sich" and X "selbst". English has no specific reflexive and forms it by the adjunction of the focalizer to the pronoun ("him-self"). This obviously shows an affinity between reflexives and focalizers (Koenig 1991), usually interpreted as a historical derivation of the reflexive function from the focalizing function (Zribi Hertz 1990, 1995, Montaut 1998). Milner (1982) already suggested that the Latin reflexive essentially marks "distinguished" nouns, made distinct by syntax or discourse. When this affinity still prevails in a given language, there is no room for contamination between reflexive and middle. When it does no longer, then the reflexive more and more marks the identify of roles in coreference and can shift towards middle voice (valence reduction), while a different lexical item is used for focalization. French, Spanish, Italian, Russian ('sja') and German are in the second case, Hindi is in the first case, which is consistent with the structure of the verbal lexicon, since instead of using a reflexive voice marker Hindi/Urdu uses basic intransitives.

3. Argument structure and 'atypical agents'

Predicates express middle voice by their morphonological structure or by the use of stative verbs in verbo-nominal predicates, not by reflexivation. The argument structure then seems to be strictly associated to the semantic roles required by the predicate, itself dictated by the morphological structure of the predicate. If we take simple verbs (series a and b), the morphonological alternation in the verbal base alone makes it possible to predict its argument structure and semantic roles. In both classes we may find primary transitives (drink, eat, read) and intransitives (walk, stop), whose difference in argument may only be lexically assigned.[18]. But the relevant fact is that the alternation in cognate pairs makes it possible to predict the argument structure of the "augmented" item from the basic item (cf. 1.2.). Interestingly, intransitives may undergo

[17] *apnâ* alone is used as a substitute for the 1st person in 'empathic' uses.

[18] *PaRhnâ* "study" and *calnâ* "walk", with the same morphonological strucure, respectively have two arguments (agent patient) and a single argument (agent).

several "special" or "modal" constructions in Hindi, and the various possible and non possible argument structures all derive from the semantic roles attached to the valence of the predicate. It is the nature of the first role which accounts for the possible passivation of intransitives, and for the modal constructions of "active" intransitives.

3.1. Intransitive containing the role Agent and the « modal passive »: inhibited agent

Only passive intransitive with a first role Agent undergo passivation in Hindi[19], with *jânâ* auxiliary, in a construction which not only does not background the agent as frequently claimed for the passive function (Shibatani 1985), but makes it hardly omissible. In this construction, with instrumental marking of the agent (and not the regular *ke dvârâ* for passive agents) and negation, the meaning is always capacitive. The incapacity involved in such negative (or paranegative: interrogative, counterfactual) statements relates to inner dispositions, close to repulsion, and does not always entail the non realisation of the process[20]. Examples with *uThnâ* « get up », *calnâ* « walk », *baiThnâ* "sit down", with a human participant (21a) are expected, but even processes ordinarily involving non agents, such as *girnâ* "fall", may in the required context, be requalified +Agent and passivized, for instance in a game if the player has to fall or in karate training when you have to learn how to correctly fall (21b) :

21a *lekin mujhse uThâ nahîn gayâ*
but 1S-INSTR get-up NEG PASSIVE-PAST-MS
but I was totally unable to get up, could not bring myself to get up

21b *nahîn, nahîn, mujhse girâ nahîn jâegâ*
no, no, I-INSTR fall NEG PASS-FUT-MS
no no, impossible to fall, I cannot bring myself to fall

Passivable intransitives in Hindi contain an Agent or at least a conscious subject identifiable with an Agent. The same meaning is found with passivized transitives in the same construction (instrumental *se*, negation), because what triggers this argument structure is the prominence of the role Agent in the argument structure of the predicate.

22a. *mujhse is tarah kâ kâm nahîn kiyâ jâegâ /*
1S-INSTR this kind of work NEG do PASS-FUT /
apnâ sâmân uThâyâ nahîn jâegâ

REFL things lift NEG PASSIVE-FUT
I can't bring myself to do such a thing /to lift up my luggage

In the class of intransitive verbs, only those with a meaning of middle autocausative can be passivized, whereas those corresponding to the decausative or medio-passive middle cannot.

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[19] Transitives in Hindi/Urdu passivise because they always contain an Agent as their first role. Rare cases of non agentive transitives such as *pânâ* "to find", or *mahsûs karma* "to feel", *jannâ* "know", as well as *dekhnâ* and *sunnâ* in the meaning of "see" and "hear" with only conscious assumption but no control/volition, will be dealt in the conclusion. The passive of *sonâ* 'sleep, get to sleep' is a problem which deserves a study.
[20] Cf. Shibatani 1985.

Passivation in this case results in modal meanings, namely a conflict between conscious control and unconscious drives.

3.2. Intransitive verbs with the role patient

Decausative or medio-passive such as (*darvâzâ khulâ* "the door opened") have the role patient as their single participant. Also such verbs require only one argument, they may optionally represent other participants such as the inanimate cause with the instrumental marker (non argument, non actant, or "circonstant" in Tesnière's terminology), like *havâ se* "because of the wind". A process with an animate cause will ordinarily require a transitive cognate verb (*kholnâ*) with a nominative (or ergative) agent and unmarked patient, both typical arguments for the typical roles of transitive verbs. If the human cause appears with the intransitive (without the valence operator +*â*/+Umlaut), then it results in a reshaping of the roles in the configuration Agent-Patient: the human participant is represented as a non typical Agent, devoid of its typical features.

3.2.1. Negative context : 'agent' reshaped as inefficient

In a negative or paranegative (counterfactual, virtual-indefinite, interrogative) environment, a human actor represented in the instrumental is re-qualified as devoid of efficiency: the series (23) shows a person (I) who cannot correctly perform the process (open the chain) because of lack of strength or cleverness and has to ask for help (simple intransitive 23a, from V.K. Shukla), a person (I) who could manage and can no longer manage to act because of exhaustion (23b: intransitive verbo-nominal expression, from Shivani) and a person (I) declining a job because of incompetence or inability:

23a *bâhar se darvâzâ khînc lo, sânkal mujhse nahîn khul rahî hai*
outside by door pull take, chain 1S-INSTR NEG open-IPROGR-PRES
pull the door by outside, I cannot open the chain

23b *mujhse <u>jo kuch banâ</u>, kiyâ ; jahân tak <u>mujhse banâ</u>, kiyâ,*
1S-INSTR REL-INDEF be-done, did ; where till 1S-INSTR was-done, did,

ab <u>mujhse nahîn banegâ</u>
now 1S-INSTR NEG will-be-done
<u>whatever I could do</u>, I did, to whatever extent I could, I did, now <u>I will no longer be able</u>

23c *mujhse yah kâm <u>nahîn hogâ</u>*
1S-INSTR this work NEG will-be
I <u>won't be able to do</u> that, it's not in my possibilities

3.2.2. Non negative context : inadvertant 'agent'

In positive statements, the optional argument referring to a human agent re-qualifies this agent as devoid of volitional control : the series (24) represent actors who apologize for what they have done, claiming that they did not act deliberately or consciously by using the simple intransitive (*girnâ* "fall", *TûTnâ*

"be broken") or the verbo-nominal intransitive (*galtî honâ* "be wrong", *khûn honâ* "be killed"[21] :

24a *mujhse gilâs girâ/TûTâ*
1S-INSTRglass fell /got-broken
I let the glass fall / I broke the glass inadvertantly

24b *yah daftar kâ kaTahal hai ; mujhse galtî huî.*
this office jackfruit is; 1S-INST fault was

daftar ke ahâte men lagâ huâ thâ, mujhse TûT gayâ (V.K. Shukla)
office of yard in planted was, 1S-INSTR break-intr went

it is the jackfruit of the office, it was a mistake on my part. It was planted in the office yard, I picked it by mistake, without noticing it

24c A *tumhîn ne uskâ khûn kiyâ hai.*
2-EMPH ERG his blood has done

B *sâhab, mainne khûn nahîn kiyâ, vah to mujhse ho gayâ.*
Sir 1S-ERG blood NEG die this but 1S-INSTRbe went
khûn mainne jân-bûjhkar kiyâ thâ ? vah to mujhse ho gayâ

blood 1S-ERG consciously had done? this but 1S-INSTR be went

It's you who killed him. – Sir, I did not kill, the killing I did by mistake. Would I have consciously killed? But no, it was done by mistake (I am not responsible)

3.3. Difference between incapacity in passive and intransitive pseudo-agents

The difference between statements in sections 3.1 and 3.2.1, all restricted to negative contexts, may seem irrelevant, and is often obliterated in translations which express in both cases incapacity (X is unable to V). Both types of pseudo-agents are indeed devoid of the capacity of performing the process. However they are devoid respectively of the feature free will (morphological passives) and efficiency (intransitives). Hence the unacceptability of (25a): ask somebody else to help making the process effective suggests that one is willing to have it performed, and the passive, which reshapes in a negative context a typical agent into an inhibited agent (instrumental) is ruled out, since the inefficient agent alone is compatible with the context. Reversely, an inhibited agent (passive, negation) may, with a strong effort of willpower, manage to realise the act he conceived as unrealisable for reasons largely psychological[22].

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[21] *Galtî karnâ* (mistake do), transitive, would suggest that the agent (nominative) consciously assumes a mistake, like *khûn karmâ* above ("kill" in 24c).
[22] (25a) is my addition on Shukla's data above, (25b) is borrowed from Davison 1980.

25a *bâhar se darvâzâ khînc lo, * sânkal <u>mujhse nahîn kholî jâtî</u>*
outside from door pull take, chain 1S-INSTR NEG open-T PASSIVE-PRES
pull the door by the outside, * <u>I cannot bring myself to open</u> the chain

25b *usse calâ nahîn jâ rahâ thâ. phir bhî calne lagâ*
3S-INSTR walk PASSIVE PROG IMPFT. however walk INCEPTIVE
he could not bring himself to walk. However he manage to make it

The difference between both types of lack (lacking features among those required by the prototypical role) is explained by the semantic (and morphological) structure of the predicate. The verbs in 3.1 (passive with inhibited agent) contain an agent as the single or main role (obligatory argument) whereas those in 3.2. contain a patient as the main or single role. Negation in this last series bears respectively on the control of the process (what is invalidated is the relation agent-verb) and on the feasibility of the process (what is invalidated is the relation patient-verb, hence the reaching of a result). The following contrast, on the same verbal radical (*uTh-*) within the same syntactic context (negation, *se*-agent), displays the distinctive behaviour of the intransitive (*uThnâ* "get lifted, rise", a decausative with inanimate patient) and the transitive (*uThânâ* "lift, raise", a causative with an Agent as the main role). The narrative context of both examples is the same: in a train just before Partition between India and Pakistan, a young Hindu is first regarded by his neighbour, a robust Muslim, as unable to help a lady get her luggage (26a: intransitive "get lifted/rise"), then he himself feels terrorized by his neighbour to such an extent that he wants to change compartment but does not have the courage to lift his luggage (26b: passive of the transitive) from above the Muslim traveller nor even the box of ghee (which weighs less than a kilo):

26a *bîbî terî gaThrî main uThâ lûngâ,*
lady, your package 1s lift take-FUT,

is gûnge se nahîn uThegî
this mute INSTR NEG rise-FUT
lady, your package I will take(lift) it, this mute is unable of lifting it

26b *mujhse apnâ Trank nahînuThâyâ jâegâ, na hî ghî kâ Tîn*
1S-INSTRREFL suitcase NEG lift PASSIVE-FUT NEG just ghee of tin-box
I won't bring myself to lift my trunk, not even the tin-box of ghee

It should be noted that the same intransitive base, *uThnâ*, may behave as a medio-passive or decausative as well as an autocausative according to the role, patient or agent: *sûraj uTh gayâ* "the sun rose" is decausative, whereas *main uTh gayâ* "I got up/rose" is autocausative. The first one accepts an inefficient actor(26a), the second one an inhibitive passive (21a).

Conclusion

The semantic structure of the verb is largely constrained by its morphonological structure in Hindi/Urdu and it largely predicts its argument structure. The reflexive morph never allows a reshaping of the roles and arguments of a predicative base, a job performed by the intransitive/transitive alternation. Transitives always involve an agent (exceptionally with only the feature 'conscious subject') and a patient whereas intransitives may involve various types of non binary relations, including atypical agents in modal constructions. This redistribution of roles and arguments along with the morphonological alternation of the verb, make it clear that the features 'control' and 'conscious assumption' are crucial in defining the role agent in Hindi: a human entity in a two place predicate is not treated as agent if one or the other of these features is lacking. Reversely, an experiential process consciously assumed is no longer expressed by the canonical experiential pattern (intransitives, dative of experiencer in 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a), but by a transitive pattern with agent (27)

27a *us samay main acchî tarah jântî thî ki tumse irSyâ kartî thî*
that time 1s good way knew that you-of jealousy did
at that time I knew very well that I was jealous of you[23]

On the basis of these facts, we may propose the hypothesis that languages with basic intransitivity use transitive patterns in a more restricted way than languages with basic transitivity, while they display a greater variety of intransitive patterns (most of them corresponding to the semantics of the reflexive/middle voice) and never use the reflexive marker in order to decrease the valency of a predicate. The intransitive/transitive alternation is also a significant pattern of the verbal lexicon in Dravidian which contrasts "affectedness" to "effectedness" (Paramasivam 1979) in a similar way for expressing middle *vs* active meanings (Pilot Raichor 1997)[24].

28a *avanu talai tirumb-in-adu*
3MS-GEN head-NS turned-3NS
his head turned

b *avan talaiyai tirupp-in-aan*
3MS head-ACC turned-3MS
he turned his head

It then seems reasonable to argue that in those languages where verbal valence is constrained by the morpho(no)logical structure of the predicate and where the simple

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[23] A pattern ruled out in the absence of consciousness, as shown by the following contrast (commented in Montaut 2004):

us samay mujhe tumse irSyâ thî, par (mujhe) iskâ bodh nahîn thâ
that time 1s-dat 2-from jealousy was, but (1s-dat) this-of consciousness neg was
**us samay main tumse irSyâ kartî thî, par (mujhe) iskâ bodh nahîn thâ*
that time 1s-nom 2-from jealousy did , but (1s-dat) this-of consciousness neg was

[24] Significantly, the so-called verbal reflexiver is not a cognate of the reflexive pronoun but an eroded form of the verb 'take'(*koL*). *Raama tanannu hogal-i-**koNDanu***, Ram refl-acc boast-VR-p3s "Ram boasted" (Kannada) ; *amma paTTuc ceelai uTTutik-kondaal* mother silk sari put-koL-past-3fs "Mother put on a silk saree" (Tamil) 'Take' verb is used in Hindi/Urdu (*lenâ*) to produce benefactive meanings, another subset of the middle semantics: *pâth paRh lenâ* lesson read take "read for one's benefit", *bâl kaTvâ lenâ* hair cut-caus take "have one's hair cut", vs *sir katvâ denâ* head cut-caus give "get one's head cut" (as an offering to God for instance).

verbal base is minus CAUS, lexical morphology realizes what reflexivation or middle voice realize in the languages where causatives are primary. As for the primary or derived character of intransitivity in Hindi/Urdu, while morphonological arguments will never be entirely convincing, syntactic arguments are more important. In terms of frequency, an important criterium for deciding the basic character of a structure (Haspelmath 2003), intransitive patterns undoubtedly dominate[25]: besides single participants statements, there is a rich variety of intransitive two-place participants (main argument in the dative, in the genitive, in the locative, in the instrumental, possibly in the ergative if we agree to consider ergative pattern as a localizing pattern too as does Montaut 2003). The fact that the transitive pattern is only one of the seven other elementary patterns for simple sentences suggests that in Hindi/Urdu the typical scenario for representing events is not the binary relation of source and goal (agent and patient with transitive predicates). Rather, in similar languages with basic intransitivity, the "typical" syntactic pattern emphasizes non binary relations and non agentive sources, pointing towards a notion of "typical event" devoid of a volitional controlling source. A look at the so-called "active" languages would confirm such conclusions since their preferred argument structure consist in backgrounding (mostly by genitive marking) the main participant (Durie 1988).

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Ergativity in Indo-Aryan. An Overview of its History and its Reception in the Literature

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1. Introduction

The main goal of this paper is twofold. First, it offers a chronological outline of the various changes which took place in the history of the Indo-Aryan languages, and which led to the transition of an accusative type of language to an ergative type. The second goal of this paper is to give an overview of the older opinions on this transition that appeared in earlier literature. The overview starts with 19th century scholarship and, through Edward Sapir, it relates this scholarship to present days functional theories on the emergence of ergativity in Indo-Aryan. One contemporary approach is based on the reanalysis of a passive construction to an ergative one. A second approach considers the nature of the ergative as stable throughout the history of Indo-Aryan. Interwoven with the appearance of the ergative construction is the emergence of the ergative marker. The quest for the origin of the ergative postposition *ne* in Hindi has led to many speculations, which will also be summarized in this article.

The article is constructed as follows. Section 2 gives a historical outline of the evolution of the ergative construction in Indo-Aryan. It starts with the Old Indo-Aryan period, followed by Middle Indo-Aryan and it ends with New Indo-Aryan. The focus is on Hindi, as this is the best studied New Indo-Aryan language. Section 3 offers an overview of the various theories about the transition to ergative patterning, from the 19th century to contemporary functional theories. Section 4 goes deeper into the hypothesis about the origin of the Hindi ergative postposition *ne*. Finally, section 5 concludes.

2. A chronological outline

The great advantage of studying Indo-Aryan languages is the fact that there are literary sources of practically every language stage, from 1500 BC up till now. However, as Indo-Aryan languages were and still are spoken in an area which comprises the whole North of India, and parts of Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh, many different evolutions and influences have taken place, and all of these make it difficult to trace the relations between the languages.

By convention the evolution of the Indo-Aryan languages is divided into three stages, based on the grammatical and morphological differences one can discern in each of the periods (Masica 1991: 50):

1) *Old Indo-Aryan* (OIA): 1500 BC – 600 BC
   = Vedic, Classical Sanskrit

2) *Middle Indo-Aryan* (MIA): 600 BC – 1000 AD
= Prakrit, Apabrahamsa

3) *New Indo-Aryan* (NIA): 1000 AD – ...
= Hindi, Bengali, Nepali, ...

We will treat the evolution of the ergative construction accordingly in three steps.

2.1. Old Indo-Aryan

Old Indo-Aryan has an abundant system to express tenses and case functions (Whitney 1896). The past tense is expressed by different verb forms, comprising a perfect form and an imperfect form, an aorist and an analytic construction with a past passive participle. In example (1) the past tense is expressed by a perfect synthetic verb form, consisting of a reduplicated stem *ca-kàr*.

(1)	*devadatta-þ*	*kaña-ü*	*ca-kàr-a*
	Devadatta-NOM	mat-ACC	make-PERF.3SG
	"Devadatta made a mat"		

However, it is another construction which is of greater importance in the light of the ergative construction, viz. the expression of the past by using a deverbal participle, as is illustrated in example (2).

(2)	*devadatt-ena*	*kaña-þ*	*kç-taþ*
	Devadatta-INS	mat-NOM	make-NOM.PA.PA.PART.
	"The mat is made by Devadatta"		

In example (2) the participle ends on *-ta*. The agent takes here an instrumental case, while the object is in the nominative and agreeing with the participle.

The *ta*-participle is also used in an adjective function, in an attributive way as a complement to a substantive, as illustrated in example (3).

(3)	*hataþ*	*vyaghraþ*
	kill-NOM.PA.PA.PART	tiger-NOM.M.SG
	"the killed tiger"	

Early in the evolution of the Indo-Aryan languages the *ta*-participle became used as a predicate, sometimes it was accompanied by a copula but more often it appeared without. The *ta*-participle is formed on the basis of the pure root of the verb (Whitney 1896: 203, 340) to which the suffix *-ta* is directly added. There is no tense affix involved, and hence Whitney places the participle outside the tense system of the OIA verbs. Although the participle does not have any formal marker of tense or mood, it always refers to a past event when it is used in its predicative function. It traditionally takes a passive sense when it is transitive. In a transitive construction, it asks an instrumental agent. The participle agrees with its logical object in gender and number, just like a passive verb. Therefore it is called the past passive participle, or another common name is verbal adjective, referring to the adjective role it can often take.

Besides this participle, which is primarily a nominal form, the passive can also be expressed by means of a synthetic passive form, formed on the basis of the present or past roots, and accordingly having a present or past meaning. The passive conjugated verb form is recognized on the infix *–(i)ya-*. Transitive as well as intransitive verbs possess a synthetic passive construction. Example (4) shows a passive construction with a transitive verb 'to recite', while example (5) is a passive construction based on an intransitive verb. The subject is expressed by an agent in the instrumental case *tena*. (both examples are taken from Klaiman 1978: 205).

(4) *nar-eõa* *ved-àþ* *pañh-ya-nte*
man-INS Veda-NOM.PL recite-PASS-3PL
"The Vedas are being recited by the man."

(5) *t-ena* *÷ày-ya-te*
he-INS lie-PASS-3SG
"There is being laid down by him." > 'he lies down.'

Intransitive verbs also possess the construction with the *ta*-participle. However, the subject here is not expressed in the instrumental case, but in the nominative, and the verbal adjective agrees with this case, as is shown in example (6).

(6) *devadatta-þ* *ga-taþ*
Devadatta-NOM go-NOM.PA.PA.PART
"Devadatta has gone"

In later texts in Classical Sanskrit, we notice that the past tense is more and more often expressed by using the *ta*-participle construction. The extensive verb system of Vedic became regularized in Classical Sanskrit, and later on this led to the loss of many different forms. Expressions as the one in example (7) appear, where the much used pattern of the transitive verbs is copied to an intransitive construction. The verbal adjective here takes the neuter singular form. In a way, this construction is considered an impersonal one (Stump 1983: 141).

(7) *mayà* *ga-taü*
I+INS go-NOM.N.SG
"It is gone by me" = 'I went'

However, this kind of construction remained rather exceptional in use.

2.2. *Middle Indo-Aryan*

All Middle Indo-Aryan languages share features on all levels, from phonological to morphological and syntactical. In general MIA represents a stage of formal simplification compared to OIA (Pischel 1900). Phonologically, consonant clusters are resolved to one consonant only, and many single intervocalic consonants in a word plainly disappear. Morphologically forms tend to fall together, not only on the level of cases, but also in the verb system. On the other hand, some forms are also added, for instance case-endings which were restricted to pronouns in Sanskrit are now also used

for common nouns in Middle Indo-Aryan. On a syntactical level we see a decrease of forms. It is interesting here that the means to express a past tense are getting restricted to one form only, and that is the construction with the *ta*-participle. Example (8) comes from the inscriptions of emperor Ashoka, from around the 2nd century BCE.[1]

(8) *iyaü* *dhaümalipi* *làj-inà* *likhàpi-tà*
this+NOM true inscription+NOM king-INS write-NOM.CS.PA.PA.PART
"This true inscription was (caused to be) written by the king"

In example (8) there is a passive past participle, which agrees in gender and number with its logical object, while the logical subject has the form of an instrumental case. This is the common way to express past tense, and the construction makes an active interpretation of the sentence equally possible. The translation of the sentence is in that case: "The king got this true inscription written".

The Late Middle Indo-Aryan period is represented by the language Apabhramsha. Apabhramsha displays an even more radical case syncretism. It is an interesting period to see the development of the ergative construction. The nominative and accusative case merge, just like the instrumental and locative, and the ablative, genitive and dative merge into a third case. (De Clercq 2003: 2110, Bubenik 1998: 66). Examples (9) and (10) illustrate this case syncretism (both are taken from Bubenik 1998: 148). In these examples the participle agrees each time with the object of the sentence in gender and number. In example (9) the subject pronoun *maiü* is marked in the instrumental case. It differs from the nominative form of the same first singular pronoun *hauü* which is used in sentence (10).

(9) *laddh-a* *tuhuü* *maiü* *im-aümi* *van-aümi*
find-NOM.PA.PA.PART you+NOM I+INS this-LOC wood-LOC
"I have found you in this forest"
Lit.: "you are found in this forest by me."

(10) *tà* *keumai-eü* *hauü* *ghar-aho* *nãy-a*
then K.-INS I+NOM home-OBL take-NOM.PA.PA.PART
"then Ketumaki brought me home"
Lit.: "then I was brought home by Ketumaki"

Example (11) is a intransitive sentence. Intransitive sentences are constructed with a past passive participle and a subject in a nominative case. The participle *pavaóóhiu* and the nominative subject *salilu* agree in number and gender.

(11) *salil-u* *pavaóóhi-u* *sī¼a-hě õãm-eü*
water-NOM rise-NOM.PA.PA.PART Sita-GENfame-INS
"because of Sita's fame the water rose"

[1] In this period Middle Indo-Aryan was the common language of the people, while Sanskrit was regularly used, but only as a literary and cultivated language. It is important to keep this in mind when analyzing data, as the language in Sanskrit texts of this period can display MIA features, and the other way round.

However, the nominative case in the paradigm has merged with the accusative case into the direct case. Bubenik (1998: 142) remarks that in Late Middle Indo-Aryan the intransitive verb takes an agent in the nominative case; but on the other hand the nominative case is also often used as the case of the patient, in a transitive construction with the passive past participle. The verb agrees with this nominative object, while the agent is expressed by an instrumental. Because of the case syncretism, it is impossible to analyze this 'object' form as a nominative or as an accusative. Bubenik considers this as the "appearance of the absolutive case", as this case can express the object as well as the subject of an intransitive sentence. Therefore he calls the constructions from MIA "semi-ergative" or "semi-passive" (1989: 389). However, in this stage of the language the nominative-accusative case is also used to express the subject of the transitive sentence. Due to the case syncretism it is difficult to define the cases and their functions rigidly, and it seems rather far-fetching to determine the stage of MIA as strictly ergative or strictly accusative.

2.3. *New Indo-Aryan*

In the period of Early New Indo-Aryan the changes occurring in Late Middle Indo-Aryan continue. The case syncretism goes further, until seven cases from Sanskrit are reduced to two only: the direct case and the oblique (Drocco 2008).

In examples (12) and (13) of Early New Indo-Aryan the verb agrees with its logical object (the examples are taken from Drocco 2008). In sentence (12) *àgaran-a* agrees in number and gender with the verb *kiyo*. The case of the subject *maiü* is hard to determine. The personal pronoun *maiü* is the only form left of the personal pronouns paradigm. In this example it takes the semantic subject role, but formally it is unclear which case the pronoun is taking here, whether it is oblique or direct. The form *maiü* can be analyzed as accusative, instrumental, locative, ablative or dative.

(12)	*maiü*	*itane*	*dina*	*teü*	*àgaran-a*	*kiyo*
	I+OBL	so much	day	that-OBL	waking-NOM.M.SG	do-PAST.M.SG

"I stayed awake for so many days"

In example (13) the same patterning appears: the logical object *àj¤-à* agrees in gender and number with the verb *karã*, while the logical subject *raja bibeka* is standing on its own, unaffected by the verb and its requirements.

(13)	*ràjà*	*bibeka*	*dvàrapàla-kauü*	*àj¤-à*	*karã*
	king	Bibeka	guard-DAT	order-NOM.F.SG	do-PAST.F.SG

"King B. ordered the guard"

Example (13) is a ditransitive sentence with a direct and an indirect object. The third argument is marked by a postposition, viz. *kauü*. Postpositions are a relative new phenomenon in the IA languages. They got introduced after the case marking had lost its discerning value. As the case markings disappeared or merged, postpositions denoting the case function became more and more used. Postpositions started to appear

in Late MIA, but they showed up infrequently (Bubenik 1998: 67). It is only in NIA that the use of postpositions becomes wide-spread.

In contemporary New Indo-Aryan, we will restrict ourselves to Hindi, we find that the postpositions have taken over the functions of the earlier case-marking, as is exemplified in examples (14) and (15).

(14)	*us-ne*	*jhakjhor-kar*	*kallå-ko*	*jagày-à*
	she-ERG	shaking-CONJ	Kallu-ACC	wake up-PERF.M.SG
	"she woke up Kallu while shaking [her]"			

(15)	*maiü-ne*	*kitàb*	*paçh-ã*
	I-ERG	book+ABS.F.SG	read-PERF.F.SG
	"I read a book"		

In these examples the logical subject has taken an ergative marker in the form of the postposition *ne*. *ne* is always added to the logical subject, whether it is a pronoun or a noun. The object also gets marked in perfect tenses when it is animate and/or definite. When this happens, the agreement between object and verb is blocked by this postposition. Hindi deviates here from the standard type of a split ergative language, as it retains accusative marking of the animate object. The object is thus not always expressed by an absolutive, unmarked, case.

In Hindi, two kinds of postpositions are used: simple and composed postpositions (cf. Montaut 2004: 60-64). Simple postpositions consist of one short word and generally mark a syntactic case role, such as *kauü* in (13), which later turns into Hindi *ko*. The postposition is used to mark the direct and indirect object, or the accusative and dative case. The direct case and oblique case are nowadays still distinguished by their respective case marking. The postpositions thus add something to the case marking, in that they restrict the interpretation of the syntactic function of the direct or oblique case. Example (16) illustrates this:

(16)	*laçk-e-ne*	*bacch-e-ko*	*màr-a*	*hai*
	boy-OBL-ERG	child-OBL-ACC	hit-PERF.M.SG	be.AUX
	'The boy has hit the child'			

The direct case of *laçke* is *laçka-*; *bacche* is a form of *baccha-*. *-e* is the oblique case-ending. Both words take the oblique because they are followed by a postposition and are not in the direct case.

Composed postpositions are used to mark semantic case roles. They consist of *ke* followed by an adverb or a noun, for instance *ke åppar* 'up', *ke kàran*, 'because of'. These composed postpositions have a smaller range of use than the simple ones, and they do not replace or add something to the function of the earlier case marking. Their origin is a lexical word combined with a form of the simple postposition of the genitive *ke*. They generally appear earlier than the simple postpositions, for instance *uppari* 'up' was used with an oblique case in Middle Indo-Aryan (cf. De Clercq 2002).

The etymological root of the postpositions remains a matter of debate. For many postpositions a lexical origin has been suggested. For instance *ko*, the postposition for the accusative and dative case, has been related to the Sanskrit past participle *kçta-* 'done' (cf. Montaut 2004: 65). The origin of *ne* is uncertain (the different theories on the origin of this postposition are discussed under section 3).

3. Theoretical accounts of the rise of ergative patterning

The historical evolution of the alignment pattern from accusative to ergative in Indo-Aryan has attracted a lot of attention in earlier scholarship. Many of the theories offered in the 19th century are still valuable for contemporary approaches. In this section an overview of the various theories around the ergative construction in New Indo-Aryan is given, starting with the early 19th century theories, where the ergative construction is basically considered as a weird kind of passive. Following, the contemporary accounts are treated which consider the ergative as the consequence of the diachronic evolution of the passive, and we end giving some alternative views on the alleged ergative nature of the past participle construction in Sanskrit.

The passive to ergative theory

The origin: 19th century Western approaches to ergative languages

Western scholars studying languages and language families in the 19th century soon noted the ergative construction. It was a kind of construction which did not appear in European languages, with the exception of Basque. Thus they attempted to find a terminology so that they could incorporate ergative languages in the European accusative system of grammar. They used the resemblance between the ergative construction and the European passive construction for this purpose. The ergative construction was first recognized in Basque, the Caucasian languages (cf. Hjelmslev 1934) and the Amerindian languages. Schuchardt (1896) treated the ergative in his work about Caucasian languages. His account is considered one of the first that mentioned the ergative features of a language. But the passive nature of ergative constructions had been earlier formulated by von der Gabelentz (1861), Pott (1873) e.a. (cf. Seely 1977: 197). Schuchardt speaks of an 'Aktivus' case for the ergative case which stands against the 'Nominativ'. The 'Aktivus' case was the instrumental agent.

Uhlenbeck (1901) followed Schuchardt's account and discerned an 'Aktivus' case and a 'Passivus', which was the case of the passive object. In a later article about American Indian languages (Uhlenbeck 1916) he replaced these names by 'casus energeticus' or 'casus emanativus' as opposed to 'casus inertiae' (cf. Seely 1977: 193). Uhlenbeck was of the opinion that the forms which appeared in ergative languages were passives. In the spirit of his age, Uhlenbeck considered the passive nature of the American Indian languages as a mirror image of their 'passive' conception of the world.

Uhlenbeck's article received a review by Sapir (1917: 85), who rejected the passive interpretation of the ergative construction when studying Uhlenbeck's data. Sapir especially had a problem with Uhlenbeck's equal treatment of the categories of

transitivity and activity. According to Sapir, Uhlenbeck's claim would be more convincing if he had restricted himself to the study of the patterns of transitivity in the American Indian languages, without elaborating on the active or passive 'nature' of the language. Sapir believed in a difference between the ergative and the passive construction, and he rejected a passive interpretation of the active ergative alignment.

Although Sapir and others opposed the 'ergative is passive' theory, the general approach of the 19th century towards ergative languages was that they were languages with a rather unusual kind of passive construction. And this idea remained for some time.

Hence, in the early grammars of the Hindi language, the same idea is found. Kellogg (1938: 239), who wrote a standard grammar of Hindi, treated the ergative construction as a passive one. He called the ergative case the case of the 'Agent' and noticed that the object of the action was put in the nominative case when used with a 'Perfect Participle of Transitive verbs'. This he termed as 'Passive construction'. Besides the agent case he discerned the 'ablative of agent'; this is the case used to express the agent in the passive conjugation (Kellogg 1938: 409). Kellogg thus followed the approach of his age, and the ergative construction in Hindi was considered as a passive.

Contemporary approaches: the diachronic evolution of passive to ergative

In the 19th century ergative languages were considered as accusative languages with a dominating passive construction. In the 20th century this approach was soon rejected, a change in ideas already announced by Sapir's review (1917). Nowadays, the passive claim has lost its attractiveness in functional linguistics. Comrie (1988) satisfyingly proved that an ergative construction is not the same as a passive construction, although the two constructions might resemble each other superficially. For Comrie, a passive construction is a marked construction. Passives are special structures, used to place the focus on the patient, while ergative structures are unmarked and the focus is on the ergative subject, which is often also the agent of the sentence. Therefore there is also a greater integration of the agent phrase in the ergative construction than in the passive (Comrie 1988: 9). Moreover, some ergative constructions do have a passive counterpart (antipassive), where the object of the sentence becomes the syntactic focus of the sentence.

But although the synchronic link between ergative and passive constructions is generally rejected, from a diachronic point of view the ergative features of languages are often said to originate from a passive construction. The Indo-Aryan languages are in particular often used to confirm this claim. Dixon (1994:190) and Comrie (1978: 371) illustrate the change of a passive to an ergative construction exactly by referring to the Indo-Aryan languages. Anderson (1976) interprets the rise of ergative marking in Hindi as *the* example to illustrate the passive to ergative evolution (see also Estival & Myhill 1988, Pray 1976). It is in this respect that the functional approach of Simon Dik (1978: 157 ff) towards ergative languages should also be interpreted. Dik's functional approach on ergativity attempts to offer a general account of ergativity in languages, and of how

they came to originate. Dik's account has been applied to Indo-Aryan by Bubenik (1989), using Dik's concept of markedness shift.

Dik (1978: 157 ff) offers an encompassing view on language and how it functions. He has no difficulty in explaining nominative and active languages. Nominative languages are working according to syntactic principles: in nominative languages the basic categories are subject and object. Each is expressed in its own particular way. Active languages work on the basis of semantic principles. The main categories are agent and non-agent, and following its nature, the verb asks for an agent subject or a non-agent subject (cf. Dixon 1994: 29). Yet ergative languages are not that easily explained. The syntactic categories of object and subject are not so important as in the accusative languages. The object can take the same case-ending as the subject (of the intransitive verb). Moreover, there is also no difference in case termination according to the active or non-active nature of the verb. The key concept to understand ergative languages is transitivity, as they make a clear distinction between the subject of the intransitive and the subject of the transitive verb. The importance of the notion of transitivity was already perceived by Sapir (1917). Transitivity is linked with the concept of a passive construction. Dik (1978: 163) emphasizes the similarity between passive and ergative:

(1) Ergative case marking is in many instances similar to instrumental or agentive case marking.

(2) The verb form in an ergative construction shows similarities to a passive verb form.

(3) There is agreement between absolutive case and verb, just like between the passive object and the passive verb.

(4) The ergative case can be omitted, just like the passive agent.

Dik's conclusion is that ergative languages originate from passives. Moreover, he differentiates four stages or language types in the evolution of an accusative language towards an ergative one.

Type 1 is an accusative language with marked passive. Through time, a markedness shift applies to the passive construction: it is used more often, it becomes the dominant expression. The markedness shift implies that the passive construction loses its status of marked construction, from marked it becomes unmarked. Ultimately the formerly unmarked active construction disappears, deleted as it were by the frequently used passive construction. Type 2 is hence an accusative language with unmarked passive. At this stage, the opposition between marked and unmarked does not exist, because the passive morphology lacks an opposed active morphology; the active forms have disappeared in favour of the often used passive construction. In a further evolution, we come to type 3, where the passive construction has been formalized to an active construction in an ergative language, and there is no passive anymore. It is possible that in this stage a new (periphrastic) passive starts to develop. Dik's approach is based on the opposition between constructions, as represented in the following chart (1):

(1) Markedness Shift (Dixon 1980: 115, as it appeared in Bubenik 1989: 379)

	obsolete		unmarked		marked	
Type 1			E_1		E_2	
Type 2	(E_1)	←	E_2	←		
Type 3			E_2		E_3	←

Dik (1980: 121) himself refers to Hindi as a possible example of a " 'late' Type IV ergative pattern".[2] Bubenik (1998: 133) applies Dik's functional approach to the evolution of the different language stages in Indo-Aryan (see chart (2)).

(2) *Markedness shift in the history of IA (Bubenik 1989: 379)*

	obsolete		unmarked		marked
OIA			àkàrùat (Act Aor)		tena kçtam (Pass)
MIA	akàsi	←	tena kaña (Pass/Erg)	←	
NIA			us-ne kiyà (Erg)		us-{se} kiyà gayà (Pass)
←					{ke dvàra}

In Bubenik's opinion, type 1 could be identified with OIA, viz. an accusative language with a marked passive construction (which concerns here the *ta*-construction). Type 2 is exemplified by MIA, viz. an accusative language with unmarked passive (the *ta*-construction which has evolved to the standard means of expression of the perfect tense). And finally type 3 is represented by NIA, where the ergative has taken over. The passive construction is reanalyzed to a new active construction, be it an ergative one. Dik earlier claimed that Hindi has already reached type 4. He comes to this conclusion by noticing that a new passive construction exists in Hindi, consisting of an analytic structure formed with the verb *jànà* 'to go'.

Although superficially the different types and language stages seem to agree, Bubenik has some remarks after applying Dik's theory on Indo-Aryan. He correctly

[2] Dik refers to Anderson (1976) for his account of Hindi.

points out that the analytic *jana*-passive started to appear in MIA, when the language is still classified as a type 2, hence much earlier than Dik would expect (Bubenik 1989: 380). This analytic passive gradually replaced the older synthetic one. So there is no stage 3 where there is an ergative language without passive.

The synthetic passive of OIA did not disappear in MIA, and nowadays a form of a synthetic passive even appears in the related language Rajasthani (Khokhlova 1995). The rigid opposition between active and passive that Dik creates with his markedness-based approach, cannot be found in the IA languages. The *ta*-participle appears in a passive construction; however, as already noticed by Whitney (1896: 203, 340), it does not have a tense marker and therefore exists in a kind of vacuum in the paradigm. The passive counterpart of every active tense form is formed by a synthetic passive, using tense markers for every tense.

The *ta*-participle has a formal counterpart, although this active construction hardly ever appears. To form the active participle, the suffix *-vat* is added to the participle on *-ta*. This active participle is sometimes used, but far less often than the standard *ta*-participle. In other words, there is no reason to postulate a markedness shift between the two opposed verb forms: the participle on *-ta* and the participle on *-tavat*. Furthermore, each active tense form (the perfect, present, and aorist) has its own passive counterpart, and these passive forms do not display any markedness shift.

Bubenik further elaborates on the ergative construction and places the most important shift in the Late Middle Indo-Aryan language Apabhramsha. In Apabhramsha he discerns some examples of sentences which can be analyzed either as passive or as ergative in construction (see supra).

Bubenik's approach to ergative constructions and their appearance in Late Middle Indo-Aryan has received a severe rebuke by Tieken (2000). He argues that the examples that are given by Bubenik do not prove anything, as Bubenik has a wrong perception of the nature of the Apabhramsha language. Apabhramsha is according to Tieken in the first place an artificial, literary language, in which the word order and the case endings were rather freely applied. Many of the examples which have been given by Bubenik are misinterpreted and need another translation, in Tieken's opinion. Tieken's review in fact implies that no syntactical analysis of Apabhramsha can be given, as it is a literary language which randomly applies any syntactical rule. However, the basic argument of Bubenik is not rebuked, notably that some constructions in Apabhramsa could as well be interpreted as active (ergative thus) or passive. The following accounts are going even further, in that they argue for an ergative interpretation of some constructions in Sanskrit.

Ergative remains ergative

In all of the above, we have accepted that it is reasonably clear what the morphological origins of the ergative construction in Hindi are: the construction with the *ta*-participle. The OIA *ta*-participle is the phonological ancestor of the contemporary perfect verb. For instance, the Sanskrit participle *kçta* 'done' becomes the Hindi verb form *kiyà*. The

phonologic resemblances are fully in accordance with the phonetic rules which have been postulated for the changes in Indo-Aryan (Pischel 1900).

However, the point of discussion lies in the construction with the *ta*-participle. From the examples above it is clear that it is difficult to identify the *ta*-construction as an unambiguous passive or ergative construction. Arguments in favour of a passive construction are the agent which takes an instrumental case, and the agreement with the patient, in short, the resemblance with a passive construction (cf. Anderson 1976). But other opinions have been expressed. The OIA *ta*-construction could be interpreted as an ergative construction itself. Hook (1991: 178 ff) argues in favour of an ergative interpretation. One of his arguments is word order. Sanskrit and Hindi are considered SOV languages. Hook notices that the instrumental agent often takes the subject position in many cases of constructions with the participle. Example (17) is taken from a text from the 2nd or 3rd century BCE:

(17)	*na*	*hi*	*pàõin-ãna*	*÷abd-àþ*	*prokt-àþ*
	not	for	Pàõini-INSTR	word-NOM.pl.	teach-P.P.PART NOM.pl.

"For it was not words that were taught by Panini."

The instrumental agent is here in the subject position. However, as word order is not yet fully understood, this change of SO order can be due to other reasons as well, e.g. discourse motives.

Perhaps a more conclusive argument is the next one Hook offers. He points out that the instrumental agent often also serves as the agent of the conjunctive participle (CP) in a sentence, as is exemplified by example (18).

(18) *tataþ ÷abd-àd abhij¤à-ya sa vyaghr-eõa hat-aþ*
then word-ABL recognize-CP he-NOM tiger-INSTR kill-NOM
"The tiger recognized him by his voice and killed him."

The agent of the conjunctive participle is here the argument in the instrumental case. However, in Whitney's Sanskrit grammar we find that in a construction with a conjunctive participle, the participle is always "qualifying the actor whose action it describes" (Whitney 1896: 355). Thus this "actor" can be the nominative subject or the instrumental agent, but also the dative indirect object, i.e. whatever semantically comes into view to be the actor of the action expressed by the conjunctive participle.

In Hook's opinion, the *ta*-construction in Sanskrit should have turned into an ergative construction very early in its evolution, if it was not ergative from the beginning.

The view that Sanskrit had an ergative construction from the start has been most strongly expressed by Klaiman (1978). She offers the following examples (19) and (20):

(19)	*nar-eõa*	*ved-àþ*	*pañhit-àþ*
	man-INSTR	vedas-NOM.m.pl.	recite-NOM.m.pl.

"The man read the Vedas" (or: 'the Vedas were read by the man')

(20) *sa* *÷ayit-aþ*
he-NOM.m.sg. lie-NOM.m.sg.
"He lay down"

In her opinion, these Sanskrit examples convincingly show an ergative patterning. If one applies Dixon's definition, they indeed do. The object of the transitive sentence and the subject of the intransitive sentence are in the same case and they both agree with their respective verbs. The subject of the transitive verb however takes another case marking, and does not agree with the verb. Yet Klaiman's view is quite radical and turns Sanskrit philology upside down, as traditionally the construction with a past participle is regarded as a passive construction. Klaiman's interpretation relies in the first place on the agreement between participle and object. There is no marking of the subject which is labeled as exclusively ergative. The case marking of *nareõa* is instrumental in (19).[3]

Klaiman and Hook apparently seem to agree on the ergative nature of the *ta*-construction. However, Hook (1991: 188) draws attention to one significant discrepancy between his account and Klaiman's. He argues from a historical comparative viewpoint that it is rather unlikely that the *ta*-construction was ergative from the very beginning, as the same kind of construction does not lead to an ergative patterning in other Indo-European languages, as for instance the το-participle in Greek.[4] Klaiman argues that the ergative construction in NIA could be easily explained by referring to the ergative nature of OIA. Hook however argues that "their (the past participle's) existence in OIA cannot in itself be considered equivalent to the ergativity we find in the New Indo-Aryan languages." In other words, Hook argues for a separate evolution of the past participle and its construction in OIA and of the new ergative construction in NIA. His view is that although the *ta*-construction originally was a passive construction in an accusative language, at a certain point of time a restructuring to an ergative active structure occurred.

Another point of view was taken by Hock (1986). He calls the *ta*-construction in Sanskrit "Patient-oriented", as it is the object which takes the nominative case and agrees with the verb. According to Hock, the syntax of Sanskrit changes from subject-oriented in the oldest forms of Sanskrit to agent-oriented. He argues that the ergative constructions in NIA are not a disruption from a passive to an ergative construction; they are simply the continuation of ergative constructions, but with another orientation. In modern Indo-Aryan languages, the notion of agent is much more important than that of 'subject', according to Hock.

These 'dissident' voices on ergativity in OIA are however few, and the general opinion on the rise of ergativity remains the passive to ergative view.

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[3] However, in other non-related languages the marking for the instrumental case is often the same as the ergative one (cf. Hjelmslev 1972).

[4] Bubenik (1989: 382) argues that the *ta*-participle is "an archaism from PIE times when it was also ergative. In pre-PIE times the form was presumably a verbal noun which only later on became a verbal adjective with stative force." However, a little further he argues that it is futile to label the *ta*-participle from OIA as ergative, considering that it can have a passive or active orientation.

4. Theories on the Hindi ergative postposition *ne*

The ergative nature of a construction is often determined by relying on the presence of an ergative marker (cf. Dixon 1994:2). The appearance of the ergative marker *ne* in Hindi is thus of crucial importance to define the perfect construction as an ergative one. The origin of the Hindi ergative postposition *ne* is not clear. Most accounts of ergativity in Indo-Aryan have their own theory about the origin of this postposition.

The ergative construction in Hindi has been recognized as such mainly because of the ergative marker, the postposition *ne*. *ne* appeared in Early Hindi, first as an optional postposition used to marked the subject of the perfect, later as the obligatory postposition for this case role. However, the historical origins of *ne* are not clear. Drocco (2008) offers an overview of the various theories of the origin of *ne*. The earliest accounts were given in the 19th century, and must be considered in the light of the linguistic views which were then popular. As we have pointed out above, the ergative construction was seen as a special kind of passive construction. Accordingly indologists agreed that the ergative case marker from Hindi came directly from the instrumental marker from Sanskrit. Monier-Williams (1858: 104-105) and Trumpp (1872: 113), for instance, claimed that OIA instrumental case ending *-ena* led to the Hindi ergative postpostion *ne*. However, quite soon this view was criticized.

Beames (1872: 267) and Kellog (1938: 131) show the improbability of a phonological evolution from *-ena* or *-ãna* to *ne*. Familiar with the MIA languages, they realize that between the disappearance of the OIA case-marking *-ena* and the appearance of the NIA *-ne* more than 10 centuries had passed, a period too long to establish a link between the two case-markers. Beames and Kellogg therefore propose another origin. They (and also Chatterji 1926: 968) look for a lexical origin of the postposition *ne*. They have various suggestions. Beames puts forward *lãgi* or *làgã*, an adjective coming from a noun, with the meaning 'attached to'. By dropping the intervocalic consonant *lãgi* would have evolved to *lãi*, and then to *le*. *le* is the ergative marker which is used in Nepali, while the same language uses *lãi* as the postposition for dative/accusative. The consonants *l* and *n* are very close to each other, so Beames supposes that *lãgi* could also have led to a form like *nai*. *nai* is indeed a form which is attested in the early literature in Braj, one of the early dialects of Hindi (Bubenik 1989: 382). Chatterji (1926: 968) proposes a form like *karõena* 'by the ear, side, agency', but again this form is phonologically improbable to evolve to *ne*, also because the form takes an instrumental case-marking. These theories of a lexical origin of the *ne* postposition are later recycled by Butt (2001: 116), in a grammaticalization framework. She proposes the form *janãye* or *janye* as a possible origin. *janãye* is a form which is related to a postposition which is attested in Bengali.

Another line of reasoning is the borrowing theory. Hoernle (1880: 224-225) (and Kellog 1938: 132 followed him), still in the 19th century, thought that the ergative *ne* postposition in Hindi was originally a dative postposition which had spread to other cases, in other languages. As mentioned before, in Gujarati *ne* is nowadays still used as the accusative/dative postposition, as well as in some dialects of Rajasthani (Khokhlova

2001: 163). The ergative postposition *le* and the accusative/dative postposition *lai* in Nepali also seem to have a common origin. Hoernle looked especially at Gujarati, and he thought that the ergative postposition was another function which was added to the case functions *ne* already exemplified in other languages as Gujarati. Bubenik (1989:382) agrees with Hoernle, he calls *ne* "the postposition of the oblique or general referential". However, we should not lose out of sight here that there is already an oblique case marking on the words before any postposition is added. Although this is not the case in Hindi, in other languages as for instance Gujarati and Assamese, the oblique case marking suffices to mark the case function unequivocally.[5] Conversely, in Hindi a postposition is necessary to show which case function is used. Moreover, the origin of the *ne* postposition in Gujarati should be determined on its own.

The main trouble with this kind of speculation about the possible lexical origin of the ergative postposition *ne* is that there are no attestations of a noun used as an ergative subject and followed by a postposition which is still recognizable as a noun. In the early stages of Hindi, the ergative subject simply took the oblique case. It was not identified by a postposition. Only when Hindi became a standardized language, the *ne* postposition became obligatory. This leaves us with the question if a stage of a lexical postposition for the ergative has never actually occurred, and the origins of *ne* should be found elsewhere, or if we are just confronted with a lack of data.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we have attempt to give a historical outline of the emergence of the ergative patterning in Hindi, and to offer an overview of the different theories about this transition. The historical origin of the ergative construction in Modern Indo-Aryan languages, as for instance in Hindi, lays in the Old Indo-Aryan construction with the past participle. Through time, this participle received an increase in use, until it became the normal way to express perfect tense. The opinions about this reanalysis of the participle to a perfect tense fall in two groups: (1) The transition is often considered as a reanalysis of a passive to an ergative construction (cf. Comrie, Dixon, Dik); (2) some however consider it as a continuation of the ergative structure (Klaiman, Hook, Hock). This theory implies that in Old Indo-Aryan, the ergative construction was already existent.

Besides this discussion about the reanalysis of the structure, another phenomenon has received a lot of attention in the literature, viz. the appearance of the ergative marker in Hindi. The origin of the ergative postposition *ne* is not clear at all, and a lot of different hypotheses try to account for its appearance. The oldest hypothesis, in accordance with the passive-to-ergative hypothesis, conjectures that *ne* comes from the Old Indo-Aryan case-ending *–ena*. This hypothesis has been rejected by later scholars

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[5] We refer here to the case ending on *-e* or *-ẽ*. Some authors claim that here we do deal with an ending coming from the old instrumental. However, this is the only case marking that is left, and other cases are also expressed with it. Thus although it origins could be the case marking *-ena*, the case syncretism in MIA assembled all the OIA case markers into two cases, direct and oblique. I prefer speaking here of the oblique case functioning on its own.

(cf. Beames, Hoernle), who think the origin of *–ne* lies in a lexical word, or the postposition might have been borrowed from another language. This hypothesis was later reintroduced in the literature by contemporary scholars as Butt (2001), although she offered another possible lexical origin. The problem with the lexical origin of the *ne* postposition is however that there are no attestation of the use of a lexical noun as an early ergative marker.

It may be hoped that more research on this subject is to be following.

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Concordant Adverbs and Discordant Adjectives in Kashmiri and other Indo-Aryan Languages[1]

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Among other Northeast Caucasian languages Avar is famous (if not infamous) for the abundance of opportunities it provides its speakers to practice the rules of grammatical concord. Not only does the normal cast of pronouns, demonstratives, adjectives, and verbs participate, but adverbs [*ki-b* 'where' in (3a)] and postpositions [*X-w-e* and *X-y-e* 'in X' in (1a) and (2a); *zani-b* 'in' in (3a)] also join in:

(1a) *a-w* *hit`in.a-w* ***ci*** *w-aqara.w* *rosno-w-e* *w-ussana* *roq`o-w-e* (Avar)
this-1 small.this-1 man 1-climbed.1 boat-1-in 1-returned home-1-in

'This small man mounted in a boat went home.' (Charachidze 1981:32)

(2a) *a-y* *hit`in.a-y* ***yas*** *y-aqara.y* *rosno-y-e* *y-ussana* *roq`o-y-e*
this-2 small.this-2 girl 2-climbed.2 boat-2-in 2-returned home-2-in

This small girl mounted in a boat went home.'

(3a) ***ki-b*** ***b**-uge-**b*** ***boroH?*** *dida* ***b**-atana* *Got`oda* *zani-**b***
where-3 3-is-3 snake I.Loc 3-found tree.Obl in-3

'Where is the snake?' 'I found (it) in a tree.'

It is less well-known that in a number of Indo-Aryan[2] languages spoken in the western and northern portions of India and Pakistan are found adverbs and postpositions which show gender and number concord with some noun in their vicinity. For instance, in Gujarati adverbs of manner [such as *saar@* 'well' in (4g)] or quantity [*thoD@* 'little, not much' in (5g)] agree with a direct object in the same clause:

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[1] This is a fuller version of a paper that has been published under a slightly different title in volume 69 of *Indian Linguistics.* We are grateful to the editors of *IL* for permission to republish. The paper was first drafted during the summer of 1991 in Mussoorie. The authors happily acknowledge the financial and administrative support of the American Institute of Indian Studies which enabled Hook to visit India on a Short-term Fellowship. Improvements were made during the late spring of 2000 when its co-authors were able to work together in Tokyo due to the generosity of Hook's host Prof. Peri Bhaskararao and his colleagues at the Institute for Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Thanks are due to Mr. Lawrence P.L. Hook for converting datasets to tabular format and to Prashant Pardeshi for assistance in checking Marathi data.

[2] The transcription used in this paper for Indic is based on the one usually found in the linguistics literature on NIA languages. In that system reduplicating a symbol denotes contrastive length. The voiceless palatal fricative and alveolar affricate are indicated with the digraphs /sh/ and /ts/; retroflex sounds, by /S/, /T/, /Th/, /D/, /Dh/, /L/ and /N/. In addition our transcription of Kashmiri uses /i/ to denote a high central back unrounded vowel and /e/ for a mid central unrounded vowel, both of which are fronted by a preceding palatal sound (/y, sh, c, ch/), and uses /y/ to indicate the palatalization of consonants. /-@/ stands for the variable vocalic segment which in concordant adjectives and adverbs shows agreement.

(4g)	*aa chokro*	***kathaa***	***saar-i***	*sambhaL.aa.ve*	*che*
	this boy	story(Fsg)	well-Fsg	Narrates	is

'This boy tells a story well.'

(5g)	*mẽ*	***devalbaa**-ne*	*bahu*	***thoD-i***	*J*	*diTh-i*
	I-Erg[3]	Devalba(Fsg)-Dat	very	little-Fsg	Emp	saw-Fsg

'I saw very little of Devalba.' (Meghani 1981:52)

whereas the sentence adverb *khar-@* 'really' in (6g) agrees with the subject of the clause:

(6g)	***tũ***	*ghar*	*ane*	*moTar*	*vẽc-she*	***khar-o*** ?
	you(Msg)	house(Nsg)	and	car(Fsg)	sell-Fut.2sg	true-Msg

'Are you really going to sell your house and car?'

(7m)	*to*	*gaayaka*	*an*	*ci*	***shaili***	***khar***	***i*** *paN*
	he	singers	Gen	*hubehub utsalto*	style(Fsg)	exactly	picks.up.
	tyaan.ci			*nakkal*	*karat*	*naahi*	
	M true Fsg but their			copy	does	Neg	

While adverbs of manner and quantity in Marathi generally show the same pattern of concord as they do in Gujarati, the Marathi counterpart of *khar-@* may agree with the direct object:

'Indeed he picks up singers' style exactly but he doesn't copy them (= the singers).' (sanjopraav.wordpress.com/2006/09/29)

Gujarati has a number of postpositions which agree with the direct object:

(8g)	***chokri**-ne*	*maar-aa*	***bheg-i***	*mokaL-i*	*do*
	girl-Dat	my-Obl	with-Fsg	send-CP	give

'Send the girl with me.'

whereas contemporary Marathi (for most speakers) does not. (There were quite a few of them in Old Marathi, however: See Master 1964:154-7.)

The northern Indic language Poguli spoken to the southwest of Banihal in Pogul-Peristan shows all the patterns of agreement found in Gujarati and Avar: Poguli exhibits concord in pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs [*tyurhu* and *tyerhi* 'there' (9p-10p)], and postpositions [*X-worhu* and *X-werhi* 'from X' (11p-12p)]:

[3] Abbreviations:

Abl......ablative	Dat.........dative	Gen.........genitive
Acc......accusative	Def.........default	Imper......imperative
Caus.....causative	Emp.......emphatic particle	Inf...........infinitive
CP.....conjunctive participle	Erg.........ergative	Ins...........instrumental
CTF...counter-to-fact	F............feminine	N.............neuter
pl.......plural	Fut.........future	Obl..........oblique
pres......present tense	Pst.........Past tense	QM..........question marker
	sg........singular	Voc.......vocative

(9p) *as* ***baapaer*** ***tyurhu*** (Poguli)
we merchant(Msg) *pyaen-ma-n* there.Msg send-Fut1pl-3sg
'We'll send the merchant there.' (Manzoor text, sentence 11)

(10p) *as* ***dweeby*** ***tyerhi*** *pyaen-ma-n*
we washerwoman(Fsg) there.Fsg send-Fut1pl-3sg
'We'll send the washerwoman there.' (1989 field notes)

(11p) ***tu*** *[gi* ***worhu]*** *kyebala* *aa-s?*
you(Msg) home from.Msg what-time came-2sg
'When did you come from home?'

(12p) *tyen* ***raziyaa*** *[kashiir* ***werhi]*** *aan-t-i*
he.Erg Raziya(Fsg) Kashmir from.Fsg bring-Pst-Fsg
'He brought Raziya from Kashmir.'

Thus, concord in adverbs and occasionally in postpositions is a feature shared by a number of northern and western Indo-Aryan languages yet is one which varies in its specifics from one language to the next. With the ultimate goal of finding some general pattern in the distribution and behaviour of concordant adverbs and postpositions in Indo-Aryan (and other[4]) languages, we present here what facts we have been able to uncover for Kashmiri. The data from Kashmiri have an important role to play in such cross-linguistic studies because, in comparison to what we find in Marathi, Gujarati, Marwari and other westerly languages, concord phenomena in Kashmiri are distinctly less productive and less entrenched and may give us some insight as to which parts of such systems are the essential ones, the parts that are the antecedents of other parts. We examine the Kashmiri data under three headings: A. overt concord in adverbs and postpositions, B. covert concord in adverbs and postpositions, C. discordant adjectives. In Part D we present comparative data from other Indic languages.

A. Overt concord in adverbs and postpositions.

Kashmiri's concordant adjectives distinguish two genders (masculine and feminine), two numbers (singular and plural), and four cases (nominative, dative, ergative, and ablative; oblique = ergative). There are a number of alternations both in stem vowels and stem-final consonants: The basic stem vowel appears in the feminine plural; the basic stem-final consonant appears in the masculine singular. (See Shackle 1984 for a compact and cogent account.) As examples take Kashmiri's *rut* 'good' and Marathi's *moTh@* 'big':

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[4] Concordant adverbs are found in Panjabi, Marwari, Bhitrodi, Thali and other western NIA languages. From Miranda's remarks in Cardona and Jain (2003:742) and from a table therein displaying the gender and number suffixes for the adverb 'again' (p. 744), it is evident that Konkani, too, has concordant adverbs. The issue of which nouns in a clause (subject or object) control concord in adverbs is not addressed. For discussion of concordant adverbs and postpositions in Northeast Caucasian languages, see Kibrik (1979:68, 76), Corbett (2006; 1991:113-5) and Schmidt (2007).

(13k) Kashmiri 'good'

	Msg:	Mpl:	Fsg:	Fpl:
nominative	*rut*	*rity*	*rits*	*ritsi*
oblique	*rity*	*rityav*	*ritsyi*	*ritsav*
dative	*rityis*	*rityan*	*ritsyi*	*ritsan*
ablative	*rityi*	*rityav*	*ritsyi*	*ritsav*
ergative	*rity*	*rityav*	*ritsyi*	*ritsav*

(13m) Marathi 'big'

	Msg:	Mpl:	Fsg:	Fpl:
direct	*moTh-aa*	*-e*	*-i*	*-aa*
oblique	*moTh-yaa*	*-yaa*	*-yaa*	*-aa*

Table I. Gender, number, and case in the Kashmiri and the Marathi adjective

Many adjectives in Kashmiri, ending in consonants or invariable vowels, do not have overt concord:

(14k) *yi* **kuur** *cha* *jarman;* *hu* **laDki** *chu amryiikyii*
this girl is German; that boy is American

Similarly many adverbs are either invariant, like *jaan* 'well':

(15k) *swa* *cha beeth* **jaan** *gyav-aan* *suddhaa*
she is songs well sing-ing too
'She sings (songs) well.'

(15m) **aai** **tsaangl** **i** *gaay* *ci*
Mom well Fsg sing Gen
'Mom used to sing well, too.' (puladeshpande.net)

or, even if potentially variable, are used with some adverbial suffix, in an invariable oblique form (16k):

(16k) *su* *chu* **kaamyi** **ritsi** *kar-inaav-aan*
he is jobs(Fpl).Nom well.Fpl do-Caus-ing
'He is having the jobs done well.'

However, for the first component of phrasal adverbs like *rity-peeThy* 'well', derived from concordant adjectives, there is an option of concord if the controlling noun is in the nominative case:

(17k) *su* *chu* **ritsi** **kaamyi** *kar-inaav-aan*
he is good.Fpl jobs(Fpl).Nom do-Caus-ing
'He is having good jobs done.'

If the potential controller is in some oblique case, concord is blocked:

(18k) *su* *chu* ***kaamyi*** *rit-y-peeTh-y* *kar-aan*
he is work(Fpl) good-Obl-manner-Obl do-ing
'He works well.'

An objection that is liable to be raised to our analysis of items like *ritsi* in (16k) as belonging to the class of adverbs is that, on the basis of morphology and the existence of homophonous adjectives like *ritsi* in (17k) such items should themselves be taken as adjectives:

(19k) *su* *chu* ***ritsi*** ***kaamyi*** *kar-inaav-aan*
he is good.Fpl jobs(Fpl).Nom do-Caus-ing
'He is having good jobs done.'

One way to counter such an objection is to present concordant items that in meaning and distribution do not overlap with adjectives. For instance in Marathi the word *nukt@-ts* 'just recently' shows concord with nouns yet its meaning and distribution do not allow it to be classed with adjectives:

(20m) *tyaa-ni* ***nukt-i-ts*** ***gaaDi*** *vikl-i* (Marathi)
they-Erg recently-Fsg-Emp car(Fsg) sold-Fsg
'They just recently sold their car.'

(21m) **hi* ***gaaDi*** ***nukti-ts*** *aahe;*
This car recently-Emp is
'*This car is just recently.'

(22m) **maajhi* ***nukti-ts*** ***gaaDi...***
my recently-Emp car
'*my just recent car...'

The best examples of this kind that we have been able to find for Kashmiri are the coordinate reduplicated adverbs of degree *yuut yuut* 'as; the more' and *tyuut tyuut* 'so; the more':

(23k) ***kuur*** ***yiits-yiits*** *hyetsi-n* *bal-iny* ***tyiits-tyiits***
girl as.Fsg-as.Fsg began-3sErg mend-Inf.Fsg so.Fsg-so.Fsg

hyetsi-n *tambil-iny*
began-3sgErg be.tempted-Inf

'The more the girl recovered, the more eager she became.'

Neither of these can occur as a predicate adjective or an attributive to count nouns like *kuur* 'girl':

(24k) ****kuur*** *cha* ***tyiits*** ***tyiits***
girl is so.Fsg so.Fsg
'*The girl is the more.'

(25k) **yi* ***yiits*** ***yiits*** ***kuur...***
this as.Fsg as.Fsg girl'
*this the more girl...'

When compared with other western Indo-Aryan languages, the set of overtly concordant adverbs in Kashmiri turns out to be not so large as it is in Marathi, Gujarati, or Marwari. In addition to adverbs of manner (*rut*), it includes adverbs expressing resultant state (*dor* 'tight', *or* 'safely', etc.):

(26k) ***Duur*** *gaND-u-n* ***der***
string(Fsg) tie-Imper-3sgAcc tight.Fsg
'Tie the string tight.'

reduplicated adverbs of degree [*yuut yuut* and *tyuut tyuut* in (23k)] and a homophonous non-reduplicated pair of adverbs of quantity *yuut* 'as (much)' and *tyuut* 'so (much)':

(27k) ***swa*** *tyi cha* ***tyiits-(i)y*** *as-aan* ***yiity*** *baakyiy*
she too is as.much.Fsg-Emp laugh-ing as.Mpl other

luukh *chi*
people(Mpl) are

'She laughs just as much as the other people do.'

Concordant *tyuut* and *yuut* also function as quantifier adjectives (QAdj's: see Jackendoff 1977) in adverbial phrases. We will examine them in that function in Part B.

Inspection of the data reveals that agreement in most of Kashmiri's concordant adverbs has an absolutive basis. That is, concord is with the direct object of transitive verbs and with the subject of intransitive verbs. [Compare examples (28k) and (29k)]:

(28k) *temyisinz* ***ciThy*** *veets* ***er***
his.Fsg letter(Fsg) arrived.Fsg safe.Fsg
'His letter arrived safe (undamaged).'

(29k) *bi* *vaat-inaav-a-y* ***tsyeeri*** ***aryi***
I arrive-Caus-Fut. 1sg-2sgDat apricots(Fpl) safe.Fpl
'I will deliver you the apricots in good shape.'

Unlike that of the finite verb this agreement pattern is not tensually or aspectually split. Thus, in (20) the finite verb agrees (in number and person) with the subject while the adverb *aryi* 'safe' agrees in gender and number with the direct object.

A puzzling restriction on concordant adverbs in Kashmiri is that their use appears to be limited to those cases in which the agreement is with nouns referring to inanimates or at least with those nouns that do not refer to human beings. For example, *or* 'safe' can be used concordantly only if a controlling noun refers to inanimate entities like letters and apricots. If a person arrives or is delivered 'safely' then the non-concordant form *ery-peeThy* must be used:

(30k)	***su***	*voot*	***ery-peeThy***	(****or***)	
	he	arrived.Msg	safe.Obl-like.Obl	(safe.Msg)	
	'He arrived safe and sound.'				[cf (29k)]

(31k)	*bi*	*vaat-inaav-oo-v*	***tuhy***	*toor*	
	I	arrive-Caus-Fut1sg-2plAcc	you.Nom(Fpl)	there	
	ery-peeThy	(****aryi***)			
	safe.Obl-like.Obl	(safe.Fpl)			
	'I will deliver you there safely.'				

This restriction may be related to the necessity for human direct objects to assume the dative case if the verb is in a non-ergative tense and the person of the subject does not outrank the person of the object on the person hierarchy. (See Hook and Koul 1984:127-30.) Recall that agreement even with an inanimate controller is not permitted if that (potential) controller is in an oblique case. In such cases an invariable form in *-peeThy* appears, as we saw in (18k) [here renumbered (32k)]:

(32k)	*su*	*chu*	***kaamy-an***	*rity-peeThy*	(****ritsi***)	*sambaal-aan*
	he	is	jobs-Dat	well-like	(well.Fpl)	overseeing
	'He looks after the jobs well.'					

Besides its small set of concordant adverbs, Kashmiri has at least two concordant postpositions (in addition to the genitive postposition *-sund* and a comparative postposition *-hyuh*[5]). These are *aloond* '(hanging) down from', and *kyuth* 'for'[6]. Both of these govern cases in their objects, but agree on an absolutive basis with some other noun in the clause:

(33k)	*paninyi*	***naryi***	*traavyi-n*	*emyis*	*[gardan-yi* ***alaanzi]***
	self's	arms(Fpl)	threw.Fpl-3sgErg	him.Dat	neck-Abl down.from.Fpl
	'(His mother) embraced him.'		[Lone 1969:19]		

In (33k) [from the Kashmiri translation of Gorki's *mat'* (*Mother*)] *alaanzi*, the feminine plural form of *aloond*, is in agreement with the word *naryi* 'arms', the direct object of

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[5] We regard *-hund/-sund* and *-hyuh* as belonging to a different set of postpositions than the set to which *kyuth* belongs because *-hund/-sund* and *-hyuh* are usually limited to occurrence inside NP's:

(a)	*temyi-sinz*	*kuur...*	
	him.Obl-Gen.Fsg	girl(Fsg)	'his daughter...'
(b)	*mye-hyivi*	*luukh*	
	me.Dat-like.Mpl	people(Mpl)	'people like me...'

while *kyuth* forms postpositional phrases which are constituents at the level of the sentence. Note the preposability of *twahyi kyitsh* as an independent sentential unit in (c):

(c)	*twahyi-kyitsh*	*banaav-aa*	*caay?*
	You.Datpl-for.Fsg	make.Fut.1sg-QM	Tea(Fsg)
	'Shall I make tea for you?'		

Kashmiri's concordant NP-internal postpositions are discussed by Payne (1995) and Wali, Koul & Koul (2002).

[6] Grierson (1973:2.149) lists another concordant postposition *sost* (Fsg. *setsh*) 'affected by' or 'endowed with'. Like the genitive suffix *-hund/-sund* (fn. 5) this postposition appears to be limited in its occurrence to the interior of noun phrases. We were unable to find speakers of contemporary Kashmiri who use *sost*.

traav 'throw'; while its object *gardan* 'neck' is in the ablative case. Thus, the lexical item[7] *aloond* 'down' is syntactically complex, behaving as a postposition governing the ablative case in its object and at the same time agreeing on an absolutive basis with the direct object or (if there is no direct object) with the intransitive subject of the verb in its clause.

Like *aloond* the concordant postposition *kyuth*[8] 'for' shows an absolutive pattern of agreement:

(34k) *tsi* *hyek-akh-aa* *yim* ***Cyiiz*** *[mye* ***Kyithy]*** *en-yith*
you can-Fut2sg-QM these things(Mpl) me.Dat for.Mpl bring-CP
'Can you bring these things for me?' (Grierson 1973:1.151)

(35k) *bi* *banaav-aa* *[twahyi* ***kyitsh]*** ***caay?***
I make.Fut-QM you(pl).Dat for.Fsg tea(Fsg)
'Shall I make tea for you?'

Like concordant adverbs, postposition *kyuth* exhibits a restriction on its use to instances where the controller is inanimate:

(36k) *mye* *kor* ***saal*** *tayaar* *khaandir-as* ***Kyuth***
I.Erg made feast(Msg) ready wedding-Dat for.Msg
'I prepared the feast for the wedding.'

If the potential controller refers to a human the postposition *kyuth* is replaced by an invariable synonym *kheetri* (37k): [Note that *saal* 'feast' (Masc) and *saal* 'sister-in-law' (Fem) are heterogeneous homonyms.]

(37k) *mye* ***ker*** *saal* *tayaar* *khaandir-i* *kheetri*
I.Erg made wife's.sister ready wedding-Abl For
'I prepared sister-in-law for the wedding.'

However, if *kyuth* governs an infinitive then: 1.) the infinitive is in the dative (38k) or the nominative (39k) and, 2.) *kyuth* agrees in number and gender with the object of the infinitive:

(38k) *yimi* ***kwakiryi*** *chi* *maar-n-as* ***kyitshi***
these hens(Fpl) are kill-Inf-Dat for.Fpl
'These hens are to be killed.'

[7] This lexeme also functions as a concordant adverb of direction:
(a) *kyij-pyeTh* *tshun* ***kunzi*** ***alaanzi***
nail-on put.Imper keys(Fpl) downward.Fpl
'Hang the keys on the nail.' (Grierson 1973: vol I.109, ex. 838)

[8] For some reason Grierson lists this word as *kyut* (1973:1.35, § 24). When consonant-final this form would acquire an [h] by the automatic rule of final stop or affricate aspiration, but in the feminine plural it would give *kyitsi* instead of the correct *kyitshi*.

(39k)	*yimi*	***kwakiryi***	*chi*	*maar-n-yi*	***kyitshi***
	these	hens(Fpl)	are	kill-Inf-Fpl	for.Fpl

'These hens are to be killed.'

If the infinitive governed by *kyuth* is in the nominative, the prohibition against human controllers disappears:

(40k)	*bi*	*nyi-m-ath*	***tsi***	*[tyim-an*	*haav-iny*
	I	take-Fut1sg-2sgAcc	you.Nom(Fsg)	them-Dat	show-Inf.Nom.Fsg

kyitsh]
for.Fsg

'I will take you (in order) to show you to them.'

In this use[9] *kyuth* seems to be functioning as the morphological extension of an infinitive which itself exhibits concord on an absolutive basis. Compare:

(41k)	*bi*	*chus-ath*	***tsi***	*yatsh-aan*	*tyim-an*	***haav-iny***
	I(Msg)	am-2sgAcc	you.Nom(Fsg)	want-ing	them-Dat	show-Inf.Fsg

'I want to show you to them.'

[cf (40k)]

(42k)	*yimi*	***kwakiryi***	*cha*	***maar-n-yi***
	these	hens	are	kill-Inf-Fpl

'These hens are to be killed.' [cf (39k)]

For further remarks, see Grierson 1973, vol. 2, p. 90.

B. Covert concord.

The relative poverty of data showing overt concord in Kashmiri adverbs stands in contrast to the abundance of evidence indicating that adverbs, adverbial phrases, and postpositions are often in covert agreement with the transitive objects or intransitive subjects of their clauses. Let us look at a few examples of covert agreement in adverbs and postpositions. (Adverbial phrases present special problems which we shall deal with separately in Part C):

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[9] *kyuth* is a very versatile lexical item. It functions as the interrogative member of a lexical set in *-uth*: *yuth* 'this kind of', *tyuth* 'that kind of', *kyuth* 'what kind of; how' (Grierson 1973:1.41, § 37):

(a)	*yim*	*kyithy*	*poosh*	*chi?*
	these	what.kind.of.Mpl	flowers	are

'What kinds of flowers are these?' (Grierson 1973:1.104, ex. 743)

(b)	*su*	*kyuth*	*chu*	*panin-yan*	*gar-ik-yan*	*parvaryish*	*kar-aan?*
	he	how.Msg	is	self's-Dat	house-Gen-Dat	support(Fsg)	do-ing

'How does he support his family?' (Grierson 1973:1.151, ex. 1755)

Possibly related to this item is the noun *kyuth* 'difficulty; problem of life'?

(c)	*su*	*kor*	*kyithav*	*Paryeeshaan*
	he	made.Msg	worries.Erg	Upset

'The problems of living have got him down.' (p.c., G. M. "Shad" of Bijbehara [aka Vejibyor], Kashmir)

(43k) ***swa***	*vwetsh-ni*	***[tyiits***	*sulyi]*	***yuut***	***bi***	*(vothu-s)*
she	got.up.Fsg-Neg	as.Fsg	early	as.Msg	I(Msg)	(got.up-1sgNom)

'She didn't get up as early as I did.'

While *sulyi* 'early' in (43k) is invariable, its modifiers *tyuut* 'so (much)' and *yuut* 'as (much)' show agreement in both gender and number with the subjects of their respective clauses. Another instance:

(44k) *mye*	*eny*	***swa***	*gari*	***[tyiits***	*kam]*	*zyi*	*kẽẽsyi*	*tyi*
I.Erg	brought	she	home	so.Fsg	Less	that	any.one.Dat	also
gav-ni	*shakh*							
went-Neg	doubt							

'I brought her home so rarely that no-one suspected.'

In (44k) we see that the restriction against concord with nouns referring to human beings that we saw in Part A does not apply to covert concord. Even in non-ergative tenses it does not apply:

(45k)	***tyim***	*kyaazyi*	*byeh-aan-ni*	***[tyiity***	*nazdyiikh*	*tsye]?*
	they(Mpl)	why	sat-CTF.3pl-Neg	so.Mpl	near	you.Dat

'Why wouldn't they sit so close to you?'

Covert agreement may extend even to those adverbs which have special invariant suffixes:

(46k)	*mye*	*hyec-ni*	*yi*	***keem***	***[tyiits***	*rity-peeThy]*	*ker-yith*
	I.Erg	could-Neg	this	job(Fsg)	so.Fsg	well-like	do-CP

'I was not able to do this job so well...' [cf ex. (18k)]

(47k)	***tyimi***	*vaatsi*	***[tyiitsi***	*ery-peeThy]*	***Yiity***	***esy***
	they(Fpl)	arrived.Fpl	so.Fpl	safe.Obl-like.Obl	as.Mpl	we.Mpl
	(veety)					
	(arrived.Mpl)					

'They arrived as safe and sound as we did.' [cf ex. (30k)]

In all of these examples concord of *tyuut* and *yuut* with the transitive object and the intransitive subject is an option which alternates with use of the masculine singular default:

(48k) *swa*	*vwetsh-ni*	***tyuut***	*sulyi*	***yuut***	*bi*	*(vothu-s)*
she	got.up.Fsg-Neg	as.Def	early	as.Def	I.Nom	(got.up-1sgNom)

'She didn't get up so early as I did.' [cf ex. (43k)]

(49k)

mye	*eny*	*swa*	*gari*	***tyuut***	*kam*	*Zyi*	*kẽẽsyi*
I.Erg	brought	she	home	so.Def	less	That	any.Dat
tyi	*gav-ni*	*shakh*					
also	went-Neg	doubt					

'I brought her home so rarely that no-one suspected.' [cf ex. (44k)]

(50k)

tyim	*kyaazyi*	*byeh-aan-ni*	***tyuut***	*nazdyiikh*	*tsye?*
they(Mpl)	why	sat-CTF.3pl-Neg	so.Def	Near	you.Dat

'Why wouldn't they sit so close to you?' [cf ex. (45k)]

(51k)

mye	*hyec-ni*	*yi*	*keem*	*Tyuut*	*rity-peeThy*	*ker-yith*
I.Erg	could-Neg	this	job(Fsg)	so.Def	well-like	do-CP

'I was not able to do this job so well.' [cf ex. (46k)]

(52k)

tyimi	*vaatsi*	***tyuut***	*ery-peeThy*	***yuut***	*esy*
they(Fpl)	arrived.Fpl	so.Def	safe.Obl-like.Obl	as.Def	We.Mpl
(veety)					
(arrived.Mpl)					

'They arrived as safe and sound as we did.' [cf ex. (47k)]

The masculine singular default is obligatory if a potential controller is not in the nominative case:

(53k)

su	*chu-ni*	***kaamy-an***	***tyuut***	***(*tyiitsi)***	*rity-peeThy*	*sambaal-aan*
he	is-Neg	jobs-Dat	so.Def	(so.Fpl)	well-like	oversee-ing

'He's not looking after the jobs so well.' [cf ex (32k)]

To explain these facts we propose regarding adverbs or postpositions as being able to receive an abstract index of gender and number from intransitive subjects or transitive objects provided that these are in the nominative case. The index can then be passed on (optionally) to the concordant quantitative modifier (aka QAdj) of an adverb. In (54k) the symbol "+" indicates an inherent or independent value; "%", a dependent but covert value; and "@", a dependent overt value.

(54k) $(\textit{\textbf{swa}})_{NP}$ $((\textit{vwetsh ni})_V$ $((\textit{\textbf{tyiits}})_{QAdj}$ $(\textit{sulyi})_{Adv})_{AdvP})_{VP}$

[+fem]		[@fem]	[%gndr]
[+sing]		[@sing]	[%nmbr]
[+Nom]			

'She didn't get up so early.'

Some consequences of this analysis for adverbial phrases which have noun phrases as constituent parts are examined in Part C.

C. Discordant adjectives.

In example (55k) there is discord between an adjective and the noun it modifies:

(55k) *temy*	*keri-s*	***[yitsh***	*zoor-i]*	***thaph***	*kyi*	*su*
he.Erg	did.Fsg-3sgDat	such.Fsg	force-Abl	grasp(Fsg)	that	It
pyav	*ni*	*pathar*				
fell	Neg	down				

'He held onto it with such force that it didn't fall down.'

In (55k) the finite verb *keri-s* agrees in gender and number with its grammatical object *thaph*, a feminine singular noun meaning 'grasp; grip'. Notice that the quantifier adjective *yitsh* 'such' in the adverbial phrase *yitsh zoori* 'with such force' also agrees in gender and number with *thaph*, even though it modifies the masculine singular noun *zoori* 'strength' [which in (55k) is in the ablative case]. In fact agreement with *zoori* is not acceptable to Kashmiri speakers.

(56k) **temy*	*keri-s*	***yithyi***	***zoor-i***	*thaph*	*kyi ...*
he.Erg	did-3sgDat	such.Abl	force-Abl	grasp	that

'He held onto it with such force that ...'

Another example of discord, this between the adjective of quantity *yuut* 'so much' and the masculine singular ablative noun *dyil-i* 'heart':

(57k) *su*	*chu*	***[yiits***	*dyil-i*	*saan]*	***keem***	*karaan*
he	is	so.much.Fsg.Nom	heart-Abl	with	work(Fsg)	doing
zyi	*mool*	*meej*	*gatsh-an-as*	*syeTaah*	*khwash*	
that	father	mother	go-Fut3pl-Dat	Very	happy	

'He is working with so much devotion that his parents will be very happy with him.'

In (57k) the form *yiits* must be feminine singular to agree with the direct object *keem* 'work'. It must not agree in gender, number, or case with the noun which it modifies:

(58k) **su*	*chu*	***yiityi***	***dyil-i***	*saan*	*keem*	*karaan ...*
he	is	so.much.Msg.Abl	heart(Msg)-Abl	with	work	doing

'He is working with so much devotion that ...'

Making different lexical choices can change this concord pattern:

(59k)

su	*chu*	*[yiityi*	*(?*yiits)*	***sabar-i***				
he	is	so.much.Msg.Abl	(so.much.Fsg.Nom)	patience(Msg)-Abl				
siity]	***keem***	*karaan*	*zyi*	*mool*	*meej*	*gatsh-an-as*	*syeThah*	*khwash*
with	work	doing	that	father	mother	Go-Fut3pl-Dat	very	happy

'He is working with so much patience that that his parents will be very happy with him.'

In (59k) two changes have been made in the adverb phrase: 1. *sabar* 'patience', a noun less idiomatic (but more abstract) than *dyil* 'heart' has been chosen, and, 2. the instrumental postposition *siity* 'with' has been used instead of the more limited *saan* 'with' (*saan* is limited in its occurrence to certain established adverbial phrases of manner). The resulting phrase *sabari siity* 'with patience' is one which is less common, less idiomatic in the language. It would seem then that the more an adverbial phrase functions as a single semantic unit, the more likely are its adjuncts (*yuth / tyuth* 'such', *yuut / tyuut* 'so much') to agree with a noun (be this subject or direct object) that is outside the adverbial phrase.

This difference could be captured (or at least roughly simulated) in a formalistic grammar by regarding a postpositional phrase like *dyili saan* 'with heart' as a single, unanalyzable lexical adverb meaning 'sincerely' and making it opaque to the normal rules of adjective-noun agreement. Its adjuncts would then agree on the same absolutive basis that we have already seen for the adjuncts of clearly monomorphemic adverbs like *sulyi* 'early', *kam* 'rarely', etc.

Such a solution fails, however, to account for the concord behavior of the quantifier *yoot* 'only' (? < *yāvant-* T 10475) which functions as an optional reinforcer of the emphatic / exclusionary particle *–(i)y*:

(60k)

shumaar	*hyek-an*	*baaTyinyii-hindy*	***telyib.elyim-iy***	***Yeety***	*pyeesh.ker-yith*
number	can-Fut	botany-Gen(Mpl)	students-Emph	only.Mpl	present-CP

'Only students of botany are able to present an (exact figure) ...' (Ansari 1988:84)

Like an adjective *yoot* has four forms[10] which show agreement in gender and number:

[10] For the vowel and final consonant alternations in these forms see Zakharyin (1974) and Shackle (1984: 50-55).

(61k)	Msg:	*bi-y*	*yoot*	*gatshi*	'Only I will go.'
	Fsg:	*swa-y*	*y'eets*	*gatshyi*	'Only she will go.'
	Mpl:	*esy-iy*	*yeety*	*gatshav*	'Only we will go.'
	Fpl:	*tyima-y*	*yaatsi*	*gatshan*	'Only they will go.'

Unlike adjectives *yoot* only has forms in the nominative case [compare the paradigm of *rut* in (13k)].

The facts that *yoot* follows rather than precedes the noun that it modifies and that it has no non-nominative forms might lead one to believe that it is an adverb, not an adjective, since all (attributive) adjectives precede their nouns and have forms for oblique cases. But the fact that the finite verbs in (47k) always follow *yoot* can be explained only if we assume *yoot* to form a single constituent with the noun or pronoun that it follows. That is, NP + *yoot* must count as one constituent[11] in calculating the position of the finite verb which, in declarative matrix or complement clauses, comes second:

(62k)	**bi-y*	*gatshi*	*yoot*
	**swa-y*	*gatshyi*	*y'eets*
	**esy-iy*	*gatshav*	*yeety*
	**tyima-y*	*gatshan*	*yaatsi*

While *yoot* can modify any noun in any case, it is itself limited to the four nominative forms given in (61k). If the noun which is modified by (or "within the scope of") *yoot* is in the nominative case then *yoot* must agree with it:

(63k) ***bi-y***	***yoot***	*(*y'eets)*	*kar-i*	*yi*	*Keem*
I(Msg)-Emp	only.Msg	(only.Fsg)	do-Fut1sg	this	work(Fsg)

'Only I will do this work.'

(64k) *kooryav*	*bi*	*sooz-oo-vi*	***tohy-iy***	***yaatsi***	*gari*
girls.Voc	I	send-Fut1sg-2plAcc	you.Nom-Emph	only.Fpl	hom

'Girls, I will send only you home.'

---

[11] Compare the immobility of *yoot* with the relative freedom of position enjoyed by the *sooruy* 'all; entire':

(a)	*esy seery-iy gatshav*	'We (M) all will go.'
	tyimi saaryi-y gatshan	'They (F) all will go.'
	tyimav saaryiv-iy os	'They (Erg) all (Erg) laughed.'
(b)	*esy gatshav seery-iy*	'We will all go.'
	tyimi gatshan saaryi-y	'They will all go.'
	tyimav os saaryiv-iy	'They did all laugh.'

This difference in word order possibilities indicates that, relative to each other, *sooruy* 'all' is more a pronoun; *yoot* 'only', more an adjective. It is also not insignificant that *sooruy* shows all cases; *yoot*, only the nominative.

However, if the noun which *yoot* modifies is in the oblique, then *yoot* must either assume a masculine singular default form:

(65k) *esy*	*dyi-m-av*	***temyis-iy***	***yoot***	*yi*	*kyitaab*
we	give-Fut-1pl	her-Emp	only(Def)	this	book(Fsg)

'We will give this book only to her.'

or find some other noun which is in the nominative case and agree with that:

(66k) *mye-y*	*yaatsi / yoot*	*pye-n*	*humi*	***kyitaabi***	*hye-n-yi*
me.Dat-Emp	only.Fpl / only.Def	fall-Fut3pl	those	books(Fpl)	buy-Inf-Fpl

'Only I will have to buy those books.'

(67k) *Daar.ny-av*	*teelyib-av*	*manz-i*	*keri-ni*	*[qaadyir*	*baT-an-iy*	***y'eets]***	***sh'eeyiryii***
Dar's-Ablpl	disciple-Ablpl	in-Abl	made-Neg	Qadir	Butt-Erg-Emp	only.Fsg	verse(Fsg)

'Among Dar's disciples only Qadir Butt didn't write poetry.'

(Saqi 1985:471)

(Not: 'Among Dar's disciples Qadir Butt did not write only poetry...')

The reanalysis account that we proposed to handle the discord of *yuth / tyuth* and *yuut / tyuut* as modifiers of adverbial postpositional phrases cannot be extended to *yoot*. Defining *myey* in (66k) or *qaadyir baT-an-iy* in (67k) as adverbial phrases is not a plausible move: They are not constructionally optional adjuncts but arguments required by the valency (or predicate argument) structures of their verbs. It seems rather that there is a restriction on case agreement in Kashmiri which blocks it if the controller is to the left of the adjunct which is to receive it. Since *yoot* can never appear in the proper position vis-à-vis the noun that it modifies, it never agrees with it in case and must take a nominative default. Agreement in number and gender, however, is not so lateralized. Predicate adjectives, for instance, are usually found to the right of their controllers and (of course) agree with them in number and gender. But agreement to the right is always from a controller in the nominative case. It seems that if the noun modified by *yoot* is not in the nominative case, *yoot* cannot pick up gender and number from it and is left free either to assume the default masculine singular form (65k) or to receive gender and number from some other nominative-case noun or pronoun in the clause as in (66k-67k)[12].

[12] There is a limitation on this such that *yoot* modifying a direct object in the dative cannot agree with a subject:

Thus, we are proposing two different ways in which case agreement of an adjective with a potential controller can be blocked in Kashmiri: 1. assimilation of certain common and idiomatic postpositional phrases to the category of adverb. 2. position of an adjective to the right of a non-nominative controller. In either situation the "jilted" controller cannot pass on its number and gender to its adjunct and the latter is left free either to assume a default form or pick up gender and number on an absolutive basis from some other noun or pronoun in its clause.

D. Indic comparisons.

If we compare other western Indo-Aryan languages with Kashmiri we find an increase or intensifica-tion in overt concord phenomena in adverbs and adpositions as we move south:

(68)

Semantic class of adverb:		representative item:	syntactic class (concord pattern):
a. state	Guj:	*vAAk@-cũk@* 'crooked'	Absolutive
	Mar:	*vaakaD@* 'crooked'	Absolutive
	Hindi:	*TeRh@* 'crooked'	Absolutive
	Kash:	*dor* 'tight'	Absolutive
b. manner	Guj:	*saar@* 'well'	Absolutive
	Mar:	*tsaangL@* 'well'	Absolutive
	Hindi:	*acch@* 'well'	Absolutive
	Kash:	*rut* 'well'	Absolutive
c. quantity	Guj:	*thoD@* 'a little'	Absolutive
	Mar:	*phars@* 'much'	Absolutive
(c. quantity)	Hindi:	*thoR@ bahut* 'somewhat'	unaccusative[13]
	Kash:	*Tyuut* 'as much'	Absolutive

(a) *kooryav,* *tyim* *sooz-an-av* *twahyi-y* *(*yeety)* *yoot* *gari*
Girls.Voc they(M) send-Fut.3pl-2plDat you.Dat-Emp (only.Mpl) Only.Def home
'Girls, they will send only you home.

[13] If the predicate is an active monovalent (a) the adverb does not agree. If a stative (b), the adverb may agree:

(a) *un.kii* *beTiyãã* *thoR-aa* *bahut* *naac.tii* *bhii* *hãĩ*
their daughters little-Def much dance also are
'Their girls dance a little, too.'

(b) *hamẽ* *hindii-kii* *filmẽ* *thoR-ii* *bahut* *pasand* *thĩĩ*
us.Dat Hindi-Gen films(Fpl) little-Fpl much pleasing were
'We liked Hindi films a little.'

d. degree	Guj:	*Thamuk@* 'completely'	Absolutive
	Mar:	*jas-jas@* 'as'	Absolutive
	Hindi:	no examples found so far	
	Kash:	*yuut-yuut* 'as'	Absolutive
e. direction	Guj:	*paach@* 'back'	Absolutive
	Mar:	no examples found so far	
	Hindi:	*siidh@* 'straight'	Absolutive
	Kash:	*aloond* 'down, downwards'	Absolutive
f. time	Guj:	*vaheL@* 'early'	Fluid
	Mar:	*raatri-ts@* 'at night'	copy-verb
	Hindi:	no examples found so far	
	Kash:	no examples found so far	
g. tense	Guj:	no examples	
	Mar:	*nukt@ ts* 'just now'	copy-verb
	Hindi:	*kab k@* 'long since'	fluid?
	Kash:	no examples found so far	
h. aspectual	Guj:	*paach@* 'again'	copy-verb
	Mar:	*ekdats@* 'once and for all'	Fluid
	Hindi:	no examples found so far	
	Kash:	no examples found so far	
i. sentential	Guj:	*khar@* 'really'	copy-verb
	Mar:	*khar@* 'really'	Fluid
	Hindi:	*baR@* 'sure' (sarcastic)	Absolutive
	Kash:	no examples found so far[14]	

[14] Kashmiri has a non-concordant adverb in the ablative case *baDi* 'a lot' (sarcastic 'sure') that corresponds both etymologically and functionally to Hindi-Urdu's *baR@*:

(a)	*temyis*	*cha*	*byenyi*	*ıaD-i*	*pritsh-aan*	(b)	*us.ko*	*bahan*	*baRii*	*puuch.tii*	*hai*
	him.Dat	is	sister	big-Abl	ask-ing		him	sister(Fsg)	big.Fsg	asks	is

j. postpositions	Guj:	X-*ni bheg@* 'with X'	Absolutive
	Mar:	X-*cyaa sars@* 'with an X'	Absolutive
	Hindi:	no examples found so far	
	Kash:	X-Dat *kyuth* 'for X'	Absolutive

Marathi and Gujarati have concordant adverbs belonging to a wide variety of semantic and syntactic classes. Hindi has fewer. Kashmiri has even fewer concordant adverbs, all belonging to the first five semantic classes, and all displaying an absolutive pattern of agreement[15]. Yet when we turn to covert concord phenomena there is very little difference between the four languages: even stems with specifically adverbial (invariant) suffixes turn out to have covert agreement (as manifested by their adjuncts). Hindi-Urdu apart, the other three languages examined display discord phenomena in idiomatic adverbial phrases formed from certain nouns in one or another oblique case. This indicates that the abstract agreement of adverbs, adverbial phrases, and postpositions with some NP in the clause is a common feature in much of (if not all of) western Indo-Aryan[16, 17].

In Part C, we explored discord of a second type, in which the quantifier *yoot* fails to agree in case (as well as gender and number) when it comes on the wrong side of the noun that it modifies. It turns out that Marathi has a similar item: the focus element *nemk@* 'X is the one to V'. When *nemk@* comes to the left of its modifiee it may agree with it (like an adjective) in gender, number, and case:

(69m) ***nemk-yaa***	***tyaa-laa***	*ti*	*pustaka*	*saapaD-l-i*
exactly-Obl	him.Obl-Dat	those	books(Npl)	turn.up-Pst-Npl

'He was the one to find those books (damn my luck!)'

'Sure his sister looks after him!' (Kashmiri)'Sure his sister looks after him!' (Hindi)
(Note the feminine singular form of the Kashmiri adjective *boD* 'big' is *beD*.

[15] Poguli, considered by Grierson to be a dialect of Kashmiri, has a wealth of concordant adverbs: *samu* 'right; straight', *gyoh* 'home', *iru* 'here', *teruh* 'there', *koruh* 'where' and at least one concordant postposition *woruh* 'from'. From the data available to us it seems that all of these agree on an absolutive basis.

[16] Not included in (68) are the aspectual adverbs found in Bhitrodi and other languages of south and southwest Rajasthan and in Thali in the extreme east of Sindh: *par@, ur@, r@*. Their presence (and their absence) is determined by the same factors that determine the choice between compound and non-compound verbs in Hindi-Urdu, Panjabi, and other central and western NIA languages: See Hook and Chauhan (1988). Aspectual adverbs, too, show concord:

(a)	*vau*	*ħaari-e*	***miṭaai***	*khaav-ai-ni*	***par-i***	(Bhitrodi)
	he.Nom	all-Emph	candy	eat-3sg-Neg	AWAY-Fsg	

'(I hope that) he doesn't eat up all the candy.' (Mohabbat Singh Chauhan, p.c.)

[17] In Gujarati discord in adjectives is limited to the modifiers of noun phrases which form part of common adverbial phrases [compare (a) with (55k) and (57k)]:

(a)	*e*	*eTl-o*	*jhaDap*	*thi*	*doDe-che*	*te*	*paD-i*	*ja-she*
	he	such-Msg	speed(Fsg)	with	Runs	that	fall-CP	go-Fut.3sg

'He is running with such speed that he'll fall down.' (Hook and Joshi, 1991)

But agreement of *nemk@* with its modifiee is optional. Even when it is on the left it may agree in gender and number in the absolutive pattern we saw for quantitative adjectives like *yuut* and *tyuut*:

(70m) ***nemk-i***	*tyaa-laa*	*ti*	***pustaka***	*saapaD-l-i*	
exactly-Npl	him.Obl-Dat	those	books(Npl)	turn.up-Pst-Npl	

'He was the one to find those books (damn my luck!)'

Like Kashmiri's *yoot* Marathi's *nemk@* may 'float' to the right. When it does float, it must agree on an absolutive basis with some nominative case clause-mate (if there is one). From the right it cannot agree in case, gender, or number with the noun that it modifies if that noun is in the oblique:

(71m) *tyaa-laa*	***nemk-i***	(****nemk-yaa***)	*Ti*	***pustaka***	*saapaDli*
him-Dat	exactly-Npl	(exactly-Obl)	those	books(Npl)	turned.up

'He was the one to find those books.'

[also 'He found just those books.' (Hari Damle, p.c.)]

Is lateralization of agreement of modifiers with controllers a general feature of western Indo-Aryan? The answer to this question would seem to be "no". Gujarati (along with Marwari, Thali, Bhitrodi, and some other languages of Rajasthan) allows agreement in gender and number with an oblique noun which is to the left of the concordant item [see ex. (5g)]. Kashmiri (and urban Marathi) do not [for Kashmiri see ex. (32k)]. It is only in Marathi and Kashmiri (so far) that have come to light concordant elements like *nemk@* and *yoot* that do not agree with the noun which they modify even when that noun is an argument or a required valent of its predicate.

E. Historical antecedents of adverbial concord

Vedic has a class of directional adverbs [*parācah* 'away' in (73v)] some of which seem to have survived into Marwari, Pindwari, Gondwari, and other languages of Rajasthan (74rj):

(73v) *yuvam*	*tān*	***amitrān***	*ha-tam*	***parācah***
you.Dual	those.AccMpl	enemies.AccMpl	smite-ImperDual	away.AccMpl

'You (two) strike away those enemies…' (RV 7.85.2cd)

(74rj) ***mhãã-nũũ***	*dhartii*	*mããhai-sũũ*	***par-aa***	*kaaRh-iy-aa*	(Marwari)
us-Dat	country	in-from	away-Mpl	expel-Pst-Mpl	

'(He) exiled us from (our) country.' (*Naiṇsi ri khyaat* 1.264)

However, the Vedic directionals differ from those in Rajasthani in requiring in addition to agreement in gender and number agreement in case. See discussion in Hook (1995).

F. Function of concord

Despite the efforts of Corbett (2006) and others (Lehmann 1988), a functional account of concord remains elusive. It is difficult to identify in what way grammatical

and postpositions has no more a straightforward explanation than do the antlers on the heads of deer or the vast sweep of lawns in rightwing suburbs!

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Sylleptic uses of EAT-expressions in Indo-Aryan Verbal Art*

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As everyone knows who speaks or has studied an Indo-Aryan language, each of them has a number of idiomatic expressions that contain a nominal direct object plus some form of the verb *khā-*[1], a verb which - as a basic lexical item - has the meaning 'eat'. However, in most of these idioms the sense of consumption of edibles (or non-edibles like poison) *per os* ('via the mouth') is missing:

(1) *tumhārī bhābhī nathnī gaRh-vā le.ne ke.bād bhī* ***Gam***
your sister-in-law nose.ring carve-Caus[2] taking after too sorrow

khā*-rahī thī*[3]
EAT-ing was

'Even after having a nose-ring made your sister-in-law felt sorry.' (www.abhivyakti-hindi.org/vyangya[4])

To be sure, there are also many instances of EAT-expressions in which the sense of 'eat' remains at least as the vehicle for metaphors of destruction:

(2) ***mahãgāī*** *janatā-ko To* ***khā*** *hī rahī hai*
inflation people-Dat Top EAT Emph Prog Is
'Inflation is destroying the people ...'
(http://in.jagran.yahoo.com/news/local/bihar)

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[1] The NIA root ***khā-*** is the modern reflex of OIA ***khād-*** 'chew, bite; eat' (Turner #3865). With the exception of Kalasha all NIA languages [including Romani, Dumaki, Kashmiri, Nepali, Sinhala, and Dhivehi] have a reflex of ***khād-*** as the verb most generally used to express the basic action of 'consuming (edibles)'.

[2] Abbreviations: 3 = third person, b = Bangla, Caus = causative, Cl = clause, CP = conjunctive participle, Dat = dative, Emph = emphatic, Erg = ergative, Fut = future, Gen = genitive, m= Marathi, Part = participle, Pass = passive, Pst = past, Rel = relative, Sbjnctv = subjunctive, sg = singular, Vrblzr = verbalizer.

[3] In transcribing data we use capitalization to indicate retroflexion; the digraphs *sh, Sh, dz,* and *dzh,* for fricatives and affricates; the macron for contrastive length in vowels; and (word-finally) *ã, ĩ, ũ,* for the nasalized equivalents of *ā, ī, ū.*

[4] Almost all the data presented in this paper are available from on-line sources on the internet.

(3) *sambhalo!* *varnā* ***jhulsā*** ***khā*** *jā-egā* *Ālū*
take.care or.else Heat.wave EAT GO-Fut3sg[5] potato
'Watch out you don't lose your potato crop to the heat!'
(in.jagran.yahoo.com/news/local/uttarpradesh)

However, there are many more in which the meaning of *khā-* has been extended so far that what may be regarded as the agent-subject of an action of 'eating' [*pānī* in (4)] has become its patient-object [*pānī* in (5)] while the entity undergoing the action [*hariyālī* in (4)] is represented as agent-subject [*nambar-pleT* in (5)]:

(4) *mathurā-kā* *khārī* ***pānī*** ***khā*** *gayā* *vanõ-kī* *hariyālī*
Mathura-Gen brackish water EAT WENT woods-Gen greenery
'Brackish water from Mathura destroyed forest greenery.'
(in.jagran.yahoo.com/news/local/uttarpradesh)

(5) *vo* *nambar-pleT...* *barsāt-mẽ* ***pānī*** ***khā-kar*** *DhũũRhlī*
that license-plate rains-in water EAT-CP faded
ho *gayī*
become WENT

'The license plate faded from water-damage in the rains.'
(www.fropper.com/posts/18177)

Contemporary Hindi-Urdu has at least 150 non-agentive EAT-expressions like the ones in (1) and (5). Marathi has at least half that number. We have listed and classified them elsewhere (Hook and Pardeshi, MS). Below is a tabular summary of that effort:

Syntactic type	Subtype	Example	Nmbr (H-U)	%	Nmbr (Mar)	%
Unintransitive	Transparent	*uchāl khā-* (⇔ *uchal-*) 'jump'	28	18	11	16
	Opaque	*kalābāzī khā-* 'flip over'	23	15	13	18
Undative	Trivalent	*X-se shikast khā-* 'be defeated by X'	58	39	31	42
	locative bivalent	*zang khā-* 'rust', *dhūl khā-* 'gather dust'	12	8	8	11
	Experiential	*Gussā khā-* 'get angry'	10	6	1	2
	Contractive	*sardī khā-* 'catch a cold'	3	2	0	0
Minor	Postpositional	*gol khā-* 'give up a goal'	2	1	1	1
Unagentive	(un)controlled	*Galatī khā-* 'make a mistake'	9	6	3	4
Residue		*bhāv khā-* 'be conceited'	8	5	4	5
Total			153	100	72	99

Table 1. Types of EAT-expressions in Hindi-Urdu and Marathi and their populations.

[5] The form *jā-egā* in the phrase *khā jā-egā* 'will eat' is the future form of the vector verb GO. Vector verbs in Indo-Aryan languages are optional auxiliary verbs, more or less grammaticalized reflexes of basic verbs of motion or posture that function to express perfectivity, manner, deixis, attitude. Under partly specifiable semantic conditions they alternate with their absence. When present vectors bear all the desinence (non-finite or finite inflections for infinitive or for tense, mood, concord with subject or object, etc.) that the main verb would get in their absence. See Hook (1974, 2001).

In that paper we show that EAT-expressions are especially common in lively headlines of news stories:[6]

(6)	*mahãgãī-kã*	***khã-kar***	***DaNDã***	*kūlar*	*bãzãr*	*huã*	*ThaNDã*
	inflation-Gen	EAT-CP	stick	cooler	market	became	Cold

'Hit by rising prices the market for coolers chills.'
(hindi.business-standard.com/hin/storypage)

(7)	*lohe-ne*	*khãyã*	***bhãv;***	*gaharãyã*	***pey-jal-sankaT***
	iron-Erg	ATE	price	deepened	potable-water-peril

'Price of iron up; deepening drinking water problem.'
(//in.jagran.yahoo.com/news/local/uttarpradesh)

Sometimes the same story contains a corresponding non-EAT-expression further down in the report [cf. (9)]:

(8)	*vivek-ne*	*kiyã*	*kis;*	***khã****.yã*	*zor.dãr*	***cãNTã***
	Vivek-Erg	did	kiss	ATE	powerful	slap

'Vivek kissed (her); got slapped hard.'
(thatshindi.oneindia.mobi/movies/bollywood/gossip/2008/04/07)

(9)	*(kis-ke)*	*bãd*	*vivek-**ko***	*vo*	*zor.dãr*	***cãNTã***	***paR.ã***	*jis.kī*
	kiss-Gen	after	Vivek-Dat	that	powerful	slap	fell	whose
	gũj	*Pūrī*	*pãrTī-mẽ*	*sunãī.dī*				
	echo	whole	party-in	was.heard				

'After the kiss he got the slap whose smacking sound was audible to everyone there.' [same as (76)]

What is the explanation for the vivid, informal, *bindãs* feeling conveyed by the use of EAT-expressions?

Unlike what happens with other instances of the grammaticalization of basic lexical items (such as GO, COME or TAKE), speakers at some level remain aware of the incongruity inherent in the use of *khã-* in idioms like those in (1) and (5), so much so that Sukumar Ray, the pioneer of children's literature in Bengal, devoted a whole poem to a ludic listing and implicit contrastive analysis of over fifty of them in Bangla:[7]

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[6] Notice that in (a) [and in (6, 7, 8)] the direct object follows its verb, a trait typical of headlines in modern Indo-Aryan:

(a)	*jhūTī*	*shikãyat-par*	***khãī***	*jel-kī*	***havã***
	false	complaint-on	ATE	jail-Gen	air

'Sent to jail for making a false complaint.' (in.jagran.yahoo.com/news/local/haryana/4_6_4613762.html)

[7] An essay in Marathi including discussion of EAT-expressions is at http://www.loksatta.com/daily/20070107/hs07.htm

(10b)

juto	***khā-ya***	***gũto***	***khā-ya,***	***chābuka***	*je*	***khā-ya***	*re*
shoe	EAT-s	punch	EAT-s	whip	RelPron	EATs	oh

tab-u	*jadi*	***nuna***	***khā-ya***	*śe.o*	*guNa*	*gā-ya*	*re.*
then-even	if	salt	EAT-s	he	qualities	sings	oh

'Even if hit with shoes and punched and struck with whips,
still - if he's true to his salt - praise is on his lips.' [verse 20 from Ray's *khāi-khāi* (*Eat-Eat!*)]

This persistent consciousness of cognitive dissonance has inspired (and continues to inspire) literary and colloquial word play. Witness Ghalib's famous *sher*:

(11)

kitne	*shīrīn*	*hāĩ*	*tere*	*lab*	*ki*	*Raqīb*	***gāliyā***	***khā-ke***
how	sweet	are	your	lips	that	Rival	curses	EAT-CP

be-mazā	*na*	*huā*
without-taste	not	became

'How sweet your lips are; even getting your curses my rival did not find them tasteless.' (Ghalib 26.4)

As is often the case in Ghalib's poetry (see Pritchett, *ad* Ghalib 26.4), this sher derives much of its power from ambiguity. And a conceit. The conceit is that the sweetness of the *mahabūbā*'s lips is so intense that it saturates even the dismissive curses that Ghalib pretends to imagine her showering on the rival. The ambiguity involves a play on the meaning of *bemazā*. Are we to take the word in its conventional meaning and conclude that the *mahabūbā* finds the rival not to be without taste? Or do we attend to the literal meaning as suggesting something more intimate? The second possibility is at the least accommodated by the vestige of physicality clinging to the verb *khā-* in the EAT-expression *gālī khā-* 'be sworn at'.

Idioms based on EAT have carried over into the mixed English-Indic colloquial current on the Internet:

(12)

don't	*bloody*	***bhāv***	***khā**-o.fāy ...*	*blog*	*already!*
"	"	price	EAT-Vrblzr[8]	"	"

'Don't bloody make me beg you (to do it); blog already!'

(http://ddspace.blogspot.com/2005/07/much-apologies-for-this-delayed-update.html)

Syllepsis is a rhetorical figure in which one word (often a verb) is understood one way in relation to one word that it governs (usually a noun) and in another way in

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[8] The suffix *-o.fāy* is a blend of the Hindi-Urdu imperative in *-o* and the Latinate verbalizer *-fy* as in *clarify* and *satisfy*.

relation to another. It is marked since - by definition - it breaks Paducheva's one-meaning-per-occurrence Law: "a word cannot be used in such a way that it must be interpreted in different meanings in its relationships with different other words in the same sentence or text" (2003). A wry example of syllepsis by a famous American humorist (Thurber 1959:13):

(13) "I finally told Ross, late in the summer, that I was **losing weight**, **my grip**, and possibly **my mind**."

Though dependent on the same verb *lose,* (14) is a less subtle, and so, perhaps, a clearer example:

(14) "He **lost the bet** and **his temper**."
(R. Nordquist, http://grammar.about.com/od/rs/g/syllepsisterm.htm)

In (15) we have an instance of the sylleptic use of two EAT-expressions in one headline:

(15)	*pahale*	***mār***	***khā**.ī*	*phir*	*lāk-ap-kī*	***havā***
	first	beating	ATE	then	lock-up-Gen	air

'First he got a beating, then some time in the lock-up.' (www.bhaskar.com)

The first EAT-expression represents the Patient of an act of beating as the syntactic agent of *khā-* EAT in the sense of 'sustain', then the same personage is represented (ironically) as the syntactic agent of *havā khā-* {air EAT} in the sense of 'enjoy the air (of a place)'. Compare:

(16)	*calo,*	*bāhar-kī*	*tāzī*	***havā***	***khā**-ī*	*jāe*
	c'mon	outside-Gen	fresh	air	EAT-PassPart	GO.Pass.Sbjnctv

'C'mon. Let's go outside and have some fresh air!'
(sandarbh.chitthajagat.in/)

Example (16m) is from a parodic version by 'Demiangels' of Padgaonkar's *gāNyāvar-tse bol-gāNe*]. In the first line we have an instance of "covert" syllepsis:

(17m)	*jāst*	***maskā***	***khā**-un*	*māNsā-lā*	*tsarbi*	*tsaDh.te*
	too.much	butter/flattery	EAT-CP	person-Dat	fat	climbs

lāth	***khā**-llyā-nantar-ats*	*āpli*	*kimmat*	*kaLte*
kick	EAT-Pst-after-Emph	ones	value	is.understood

'A man flattered eats it up, gets fat on it. Getting a kick he knows his true worth.' (virakta.blogspot.com/)

The syllepsis in (17m) is covert because the double reading of *khā-un* depends on the double meaning of the noun *maskā*[9]. In Marathi *maskā* can mean both 'butter' and 'flattery'.[10] Depending on which meaning is taken the conjunctive phrase can mean 'having eaten butter' or 'having received (noxious) praise'. The finite verb *tsaDhte* ('climbs, increases; intoxicates') is ambiguous in a parallel way, reinforcing the ambiguity of *maskā khā-un*. Finally, the second line's unambiguous *lāth khā-* 'receive a kick' serves to reveal the double deal.

A similar syllepsis animates (18). The author is describing the disappointment of late-comers to a feast:

(18)	*binā*	***kuch***	***khāe***	*var-ke*	*pitā-ko*	*peT-bhar*	***gāliyā̃***
	without	anything	eaten	groom's	father-Dat	belly-full	curses
	***khilā**-ne*	*ke.bād*	*lauTe*				
	FEED-Inf	after	returned				

'Not getting anything to eat they left after feeding the groom's father a belly full of complaints.'

(Bhuvanesh Sharma, hindipanna.blogspot.com/2006/10/blog-post_24.html)

In the third sher of a ghazal that turns on syllepsis, Ghalib uses *khā-* with two nouns: 'poison' and 'vow'. With the first the meaning of *khā-* is 'consume'; with the second, the meaning is 'utter' or 'perform': [11]

(19)	***zahr***	*miltā-hī*		*nahī̃*	*mujh-ko*		*sitam.gar*	*varnā*
	poison	available-Emph		Neg	me-Dat		tormentor	rather
	kyā	***qasam***	*hai*	*tere*	*mil.ne-kī*	*ki*	***khā**-bhī*	*na sakū̃*
	QM	vow	is	your	meeting-'s	that	EAT-even	not able

'Poison is just not to be had, Tyrant. We're not talking about a vow to meet you which I can't take!' (89.3)

Finally one of the most famous, most recited bits of film dialog features the sarcastic use of syllepsis: As in (17m) and (18) the meaning of *khā-* in (20) moves from a conventional EAT-expression in which the verb retains a basic sense of taking something edible (salt = protection) to a non-agentive sense of EAT as 'having

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[9] It might be objected that (17m) is an instance of antanaclasis rather than of syllepsis: "The repetition of a word or phrase whose meaning changes in the second instance." (http://rhetoric.byu.edu/figures/A/antanaclasis.htm) Example (a) is an instance of antanaclasis ascribed to Benjamin Franklin: "Your argument is sound ... all sound." However, in (17m) the emergence of the second meaning of *khā-* depends on its construal with the second noun governed by it.

[10] Reminiscent of the metaphor in the (moribund?) English expression 'to butter someone up' (= 'to flatter someone).

[11] For further discussion of this sher go to: http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00ghalib/089/89_03.html.

something done to one'. The treachery and pitilessness of his behavior toward Kāliyā is echoed in the shift from the trust and humility of Kāliyā's *namak khāyā* to the malevolent and brutal brevity of Gabbar's *golī khā*!

(20) kāliyā:	*mãĩ-ne*	*āp.kā*	***namak***	***khāyā***	*hai,*	*sardār.*	***golī***	***khā!***
Kāliyā:	I.Erg	your	salt	eaten	have	Sardār	bullet	EAT

Gabbar:	*ab*	***golī***	***khā!***
Gabbar:	now	bullet	EAT

K: 'I have taken your help and protection, Sardār. G. 'Now take my bullets.'
(film *Sholay*; 1975; screenplay by Salim Khan and Javed Akhtar)

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Expressives In Indo-Aryan Languages

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The term "expressives" refers to sound symbolism which is in itself not a very satisfactory term because it provides a radically confused concept of 'symbol'. "Symbol" is an extensively used in many different disciplines, but it lacks clarity. However, it covers a phenomenon which has been noted and studied over very many years despite the fact that many linguists believe that the phenomenon does not exist at all. Saussure (1915) is famous for the expression 'l'arbitraire du signe', by which he denied onomatopoeia and considers all other natural expressiveness of words as marginal. He treated even apparent onomatopoeic words as no more than conventionalised forms. This view was restated and reinforced by Charles Hockett(1958, 1963) in his influential identification of what he described as 'design features' of language: He thought that the relation between a meaningful element in language and its denotation is independent of any physical and geometrical resemblance between the two. The semantic relation is arbitrary rather than iconic. Firth(1964) also warned against the concept of sound symbolism, by saying that the sounds of words in themselves paint at nothing.

However, Plato in his dialogues in Cratylus observed that "Everything has a right name of its own, which comes by nature. A name is not whatever people call a thing by agreement, just a piece of their own voice applied to the thing, but there is a kind of inherent correctness (orthoteta tina ton onomaton pephukenai) which is the same for all men, both Greeks and foreigners." Similarly Lucretius, a thoughtful and pragmatic investigator, rejected the arbitrariness of the origin of words, He says that ; "people who think that some individual could, by himself, have invented words arbitrarily are talking nonsense. It suggests that the tradition that words symbolise their meanings has continued over the centuries. In the 19th century the reality of the expressiveness of words was championed by Humboldt in Germany, and later by Grammont(1901) in France. Humboldt(1836) was certain that a connection between the sound of a word and its meaning exists; he distinguished between onomatopoeia and sound symbolism. The sound was not, in his view, a directly imitative sign but a sign which indicated a quality that the sign and the object have in common; to designate objects, language selected sounds which partly independently and partly in comparison with others produce an impression which, to the ear, is similar to that which the object makes upon the mind. Humboldt said that this kind of sign process (based upon the particular meaning of each individual letter and whole groups of letters) had undoubtedly exercised a prevailing, perhaps even exclusive, influence on the primitive process of word formation resulting in a certain likeness of word-formation throughout all languages.

Otto Jespersen(1922) discussed at length the evidence for sound symbolism and concluded that it should be seen not simply as a force that influenced the initial formation of language but as one operating continually to make the words used more appropriate to their sense, that is, sound symbolism is a reality in the modern use and development of language. "Is there really much more logic in the opposite extreme which denies any kind of sound symbolism apart from the small class of evident echoisms and 'onomatopoeia' and sees in our words only a collection of accidental and irrational associations of sound and meaning? Sounds may in some cases be symbolic of their sense even if they are not so in all words. There is no denying that there are words which we feel instinctively to be adequate to express the ideas they stand for."(397-398). He directly criticised Saussure's approach: "De Saussure gives as one of the main principles of our science that the tie between sound and sense is arbitrary and rather motiveless, and to those that would object that onomatopoeic words are not arbitrary, he says that 'they are never organic elements of a linguistic system'. Though some echo words may be very old, the great majority are not . In the course of time, languages grow richer and richer in symbolic words. Sound symbolism, we may say, makes some words much more fit to survive. Echoism and related phenomena are vital to languages as we observe them day by day".(408-411)

In view of the discussion given abpve, it can be said that the apparent appropriateness of the sound-structures of many individual words for their meanings is prominently exhibited by their expressiveness, which may be defined as a class of sound symbolic words that convey sensory images such as sound, sights, tastes, smells, textures, and internal sensation. At the same time, it can also be recognized that complete arbitrariness fails to hold in case of expressives, because the forms of words are said to somehow "suggest" their meanings, or the meanings are said to somehow "motivate" the word forms. It suggests that the individuality and distinctiveness of expressives lies in their *iconicity*.

In psycholinguistics, it is recognized that the iconicity plays a vital role in the speed at which a word is accessed during comprehension or production (Luce & Pisoni, 1998). Similarly, researches on iconicity and semantic speech errors (e.g., Fromkin, 1971) show that words with similar meanings may interfere with one another. Since both phonological similarity and semantic similarity have an effect on language processing, it is worth considering whether the relationship between the two types of similarity also plays a role and whether communicative considerations could govern the sorts of form meaning relationships that are favored or disfavored in languages.

The paper provides a preliminary method of measuring the iconicity of words in Urdu-Hindi and Bangla expressives, and discusses in by relying on a new formal definition of iconicity. One of its main points is that it distinguishes between 'absolute iconicity', based on the direct relationship between form and meaning, and 'relative iconicity', based on the relationship between distance between forms and meaning,

Many languages of the world, especially those in South Asia, have a lexical category referred to as expressives, or sometimes as *ideophones* or *mimetics* (Childs,

1994). While there are no necessary and sufficient conditions for defining this category cross- linguistically, a number of phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties can be used to characterize the expressive prototype. Expressives tend to suggest adverbial meanings, involving movements (of the body or of objects); physical states; sounds and noises; speech patterns; sensations, emotions or mental states; personal appearance; facial expressions; and personality traits. The paper analyses Urdu, Hindi and Bangla expressives, specifically to the extent to which they exhibit iconicity. Some examples of expressives in these languages are given in Table 1 to show what it is that makes them iconic, and how would we can demonstrate their iconicity in an objective manner?

Table 1: Examples of some Urdu Hindi and Bangla Expressives

Hindi- Urdu	*Bangla*	*Gloss*
khərkhrahəT	*khɔr khɔ r*	*rap, rattle*
cIpcIp	*cɔtpɔt*	'sticky'
cəpəRna	*cɔpɔR*	*to lubricate*
ghənghor	*ghɔnghor*	*dark cloud*
Khansi	*khɔnkhi*	*cough*
khəcakhəc	*khɔckhɔc*	*packed, crowded*
khəTəkna	*khɔTɔk*	*rample*

Types of Iconicity

We consider iconic words to be such that their **forms** suggests their **meanings**. As a matter of fact both forms and meanings can be thought of as points in multi-dimensional spaces, though we may not have direct access to what the set of their defining dimensions is. Given a meaning, a language user should be able to assign a form to expressive this is production. Given a form, a language user should be able to assign a meaning to it: this is comprehension.

In production, the speaker begins with a meaning (m1) and accesses a form (f1). In comprehension, the addressee begins with a form (f1) and accesses a meaning (m1). The term **iconicity** involves the property of a set of words for which there is a similarity function that relates form and meaning either in whole or part. In *absolute* iconicity, there is a correlation between one or more dimensions of form and meaning. The most obvious example is onomatopoeia, in which forms are intended as imitations of sounds in nature. Thus there appears to be a weak correlation between the vowel formants in conventional words for animal sounds (*moo*, *quack*, *cheep*) and the perceived formants in the sounds made by the animals. Sign languages offer many instances of absolute iconicity, for example, the conventional use of the space in front of

the signer for future time and the space behind the signer for past time. It must be noted here that the form- meaning function itself can vary from one language to another. Though we know of no such language, it is at least conceivable that a sign language could assign the future to the space behind the signer and the past to the space in front of the signer. The point is that the assignment applies consistently to the words in the iconic set.

The **relative iconicity** may be defined to be the property of a set of words for which there is a correlation between form similarity and meaning similarity. That is, rather than a similarity function relating meaning to form, relative iconicity is based on separate similarity functions relating forms to forms and meanings to meanings. For example, Hindi Urdu words *cəmək*, " shine" *cəmkila*, "bright" *cəmcəmana, "to glitter"* and *cəkacɔndh* "glare", "daze" seem to exhibit relative iconicity because their similarity of form ("c" in the salient initial position) corresponds to a similarity of meaning 'glittering light of high intensity'. This may also be noted here that with relative iconicity there need not be form-meaning similarity – this relationship could be completely arbitrary – as long as similar forms have similar meanings and similar meanings have similar forms. It can also be noted that both kinds of iconicity are properties of groups of words, absolute iconicity because it is defined with respect to a similarity function over a set of form meaning pairings and relative iconicity because it is defined with respect to the similarity between pairs within a group of words.

On the other hand the term **arbitrariness** shows the absence of either absolute or relative iconicity. For example, the Hindi Urdu words in the *set ja:mun,* "rennet" *a:m,* "mango" *əmru:d,* "guava" *pəpi:ta:*, "papaya" and *li:chi:* "litchi" appear to exhibit arbitrariness in the sense of absence of relative iconicity within the set since there is no obvious relationship between the similarity of forms and the *prima facie* similarity of associated meanings. It suggests that there is a *negative* correlation between form similarity and meaning similarity. Given these definitions of absolute iconicity, relative iconicity and arbitrariness, there are three possibilities for what is actually true of a particular natural language. (different languages could differ in this regard):

1. The lexicon of the language could be arbitrary. Any apparent relative iconicity within a group of words would be spurious. e.g. *set ja:mun,* "rennet" *a:m,* "mango" *əmru:d,* "guava"

2. The lexicon of the language could be relatively iconic. Any apparent arbitrariness within a group of words would be spurious. e.g. Hindi Urdu words *cəmək*, " shine" *cəmkila*, "bright".

3. The lexicon could be absolutely iconic in some semantic or phonological regions. bhɔ̃ *bhɔ̃* *"bow bow"*

Expressives in Indo- Aryan languages are a basic word class which uses a system of iconicity. As discussed earlier iconicity means that words in the expressive class are denoted not merely by an arbitrary association of form and meaning, they resemble in form the meaning which they signify. Expressives are divided into (A) Non reduplicated

and (B) Reduplicated expressives. As Fedson (1981) observes non reduplicated expressives refer to single event while the reduplicated forms refer to continued or repeated events. Due to the semantic features, reduplicated forms may not have mono-morphemic correlate. Table 2 contains some;

Table 2 : Non reduplicated Expressives in Hindi Urdu and Bengali

khəTas	sour
hIcki	hiccup
rẽkna	bray
bhəRas	grudge
bhəsəR	mayhem
cəTax	cracking sound
DhəRam	thud
khUrcən	scrapings
cəTxara	relish

Table 3 : Reduplicated Expressives in Hindi Urdu and Bengali

Thulthul	fatty
Jhatpat	quickly
Jhilmil	Twinkle
chən chən	jingle of coins
dhək dhək	heart beat
tukur tukur	to look eagerly
micir micir	sound while eating
dhəmdhəm	Thud
kəpkəpi	Shiver
cəbəR cəbəR	to be talkative
sənsənahəT	sensation
bhəbhəkna	burst into flame
bhInbhIna	Humming
bUdbUdana	Mumble

The reduplicated expressives may further be divided into (a) exact reduplication and (b) altered reduplication.

Table 3 : (a) Exact Rduplication

Thulthul	fatty
jhəmjhəm	glitter
phəT phəT	opprobrium
chən chən	Jingles of coin
dhək dhək	Heart beating
Tukur Tukur	To look eagerly
micir micir	sound while eating
dhəmdhəm	Thud
kəpkəpi	Shivering
cəbəR cəbəR	To be talkative
sənsənahəT bhəbhəkana	sensation to burst into fire
bhInbhInana	Humming
bUdbUdana	mumble
TImTima	twinkle
sərsərana	creep, rustle
səsərna	To slip down

In the examples given in the table 3 (a) there is no modification in the reduplicated form. However, in table 3 (b) the reduplicated forms are altered.

Table 3 (b) : Altered Reduplication

jhəT pəT	quickly
jhIl mIl	twinkling
gITpIT	mixing up
rImjhIm	Drizzling sound
hIckIcahəT	reluctance

On the basis of their characteristic structural features Indo -Aryan expressives may have the following structures (1) cvc vc, (2) cvcvc cvcvc, (3) cvc cvc, types

Table 4 : cvcvc Type

pəTax	Cvcvc
rẽkna	Cvcvc
bhəRas	Cvcvc
bhəsəR	Cvcvc
cəTax	Cvcvc
dhəRam	cvcvc

Table 5 : cvcvc cvcvc Type

Tukur Tukur	cvcvc cvcvc
micir micir	cvcvc cvcvc
cəbəR cəbəR	cvcvc cvcvc
sənsənahəT	cvcvc cvcvc

Table 6: cvc cvc Type

dhəmdhəm	cvc cvc
phəTphəT	cvc cvc
bhInbhIn	cvc cvc
bUdbUd	cvc cvc

Verbs are derivedby suffixing /a/ to the noun forms as in the following:

bhəkbhək + a + na = bhəkbhəkana

bhInbhIn + a + na = bhInbhInana

bUdbUd + a + na = bUdbUdana

However, the expressive class of words should be differentiated from other word classes which resemble them either in form or function. One class of words to be distinguished from expressives is echo words. In form echo words superficially resemble expressives because they can undergo reduplications while in meaning these forms seem to be expressives in a non technical sense. Echo forms are found throughout Indo-Aryan languages. In echo forms the base is followed by an echo form, replacing the initial consonant with another consonant which varies according to the language. In Hindi Urdu the substitution involved is /v/. In Bengali it is /t/ .

Hindi/Urdu Echo words	Bangla Echo words
pani vani	pani tani
cae vae	Cae tae
khana vana	khana tana

The meaning of the compound like form is that of the basic noun and "things like that". Syntactically, echoes are used as the same part of speech as the base form. Echo forms can be distinguished from expressives phonologically, because echoes change the first consonant to /v/ in Hindi Urdu and / t/ in Bengali. Expressives too can change the first consonant, but never to /v/ in Hindi Urdu and /t/ in Bengali. For example;

jhat pat

jhilmil

Tam jham

cat pata

The other class of words in many Indo- Aryan languages, to be distinguished from the expressive class is interjection. In form, "interjection" superficially resemble expressives because they can undergo reduplication, while in meaning these forms seem to be expressives only in a non technical sense. However, Hindi Urdu interjections like /wah wah/, / ah ah/ differ semantically in being much less specific than expressives

The form of reduplication in Indo-Aryan languages can be used to distinguish among the interjections, echo reduplications, and expressives in Table 7.

Table 7 : Interjections, Echo words, And Expressives

	Prefixed /Suffixed	Exact / Altered	Part altered
Interjections	Suffixed	Exact	N/A
Echo reduplication	Suffixed	altered	Second
Expressives	Suffixed	both exact & altered	Second

The table given above suggests that in interjection reduplication there is no alteration in the reduplicated form, while in echo forms there is always an alteration in the reduplicated form. However, expressives are different from the other two in the sense that they are used both in altered and un-altered form. In echo reduplication the first sound is generally replaced by a particular phoneme / v/ in the case of Hindi Urdu and / t/ in the case of Bengali, but expressives fail to follow phonological regularities which might interrupt their iconic characteristics. Because of the phonological exceptionality of the expressives, the iconicity is not damaged and modified.

To sum up, the paper demonstrates that expressives can be characterized by their phonological behavior and they resist general phonological change, it argues that Indo Aryan expressives must be studied independently.

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The Bangla Positive Polarity Copula and the Clause in Eastern Indic

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1. The Positive Polarity Copula Introduced

The focus of this intervention is limited to diachronically driven comparative linguistics. In the closing moves, however, we shall highlight some issues in what is normally called comparative syntax.

Research on the early stage of New Indo-Aryan has begun to take syntax and semantics on board in recent years (Deo 2006, Sen 2007). For traditional reasons, attention will tend, quite rightly, to focus on such phenomena as verb inflection in the environment of an instrumental subject in, say, the Doha example *va:hmaNehi na ja:nanta hi bheu* 'even the Brahmins do not know the distinction' (cited by Sen 2007: 61). However, we cannot hope to understand the main outlines of the diachrony of the early or middle stages of New Indo-Aryan on the basis of texts alone. Reconstruction will have to supplement comparative philology.

It is thus of some importance that Mahapatra (2003) notices certain instantiations of the copula *he* in contemporary Odia that must occur in a clause-medial position. While he does not comment on other properties that these instantiations may exhibit, comparative investigation will benefit from asking if their behaviour closely parallels that of the obligatorily medial copulas observed in Bangla (Dasgupta 1983). Pallavi Borah and Rajat Ghosh (personal communication) report a similar phenomenon in Asamiya as well. The present study considers in some detail the location of these copulas – unattested in other branches of Indo-Aryan – in the architecture of the clause in Bangla. Rigorous study of their Odia and Asamiya counterparts should soon make conclusions possible about clause structure in earlier stages of New Indo-Aryan.

The relevant copulas in Bangla exhibit three distinct sets of puzzling properties. First of all – hence the recently proposed nomenclature "positive polarity copula" (Dasgupta 2003) – they are incompatible with negation and interrogation. Second, they consistently occur clause-medially in what is otherwise a non-rigidly verb-final language. Third, they occur only in a root sentence or in a mildly embedded clause, where the term 'mild' specifies compatibility with known root sentence features.

We refer to Positive Polarity Copulas, or PPCs, in the plural because they come in two varieties –carrying what looks like a past tense marking or what looks like a present progressive marking, shown in sets (1) and (2) respectively. In each set, (a) is the normal form; (b) and (c) show that the PPC must occupy medial position (for more on this, see the discussion surrounding example (9) below); (d) and (e) show intolerance for negation and interrogation; (f) shows incompatibility with embedding under the quotative particle *bole*, literally 'saying'; (g) shows intolerance for embedding under *jodi* 'if'.

(1) a. Dilip holo daler netaa
Dilip PPC.Pst group's leader
'Dilip is the leader of the group'

b. *Dilip daler netaa holo
Dilip group's leader PPC.Pst

c. *holo Dilip daler netaa
PPC.Pst Dilip group's leader

d. *Dilip holo naa daler netaa
Dilip PPC.Pst Neg group's leader

e. *Dilip holo kaader netaa?
Dilip PPC.Pst whose leader

f. *Dilip holo daler netaa bole Tej jaaniyeche
Dilip PPC.Pst group's leader Prt Tej has.told

g. *jodi Dilip holo daler netaa
if Dilip PPC.Pst group's leader

(2) a. Dilip hocche daler netaa
Dilip PPC.PrP group's leader
'Dilip is the leader of the group'

b. *Dilip daler netaa hocche
Dilip group's leader PPC.PrP

c. *hocche Dilip daler netaa
PPC.PrP Dilip group's leader

d. *Dilip hocche naa daler netaa
Dilip PPC.PrP Neg group's leader

e. *Dilip hocche kaader netaa?
Dilip PPC.PrP whose leader

f. *Dilip hocche daler netaa bole Tej jaaniyeche
Dilip PPC.PrP group's leader C Tej has.told

g. *jodi Dilip hocche daler netaa
if Dilip PPC.PrP group's leader

2. Distinctive Properties of PPCs

PPCs of both sorts exhibit regular verblike morphology to the extent that they agree for person and honorificity with the nominative subject:

(3) tumi hole Diliper bondhu
you PPC.Pst Dilip's friend
'You are a friend of Dilip's'

(4) aami holaam Diliper sotru
I PPC.Pst Dilip's enemy
'I am an enemy of Dilip's'

(5) uni hocchen Rameser kaakaa
s/he.Hon PPC.PrP Ramesh's uncle
'He is Ramesh's uncle'

This point becomes relevant because PPCs contrast in this regard with the agreement-invariant negative existential copula *nei* 'is not, am not, are not' and with the formally irregular verb *caai* 'is needed, are needed'. Both *nei* and *caai* are confined to the present tense, but neither of them exhibits the other quirky properties of PPCs.

In this paper, we shall suggest that PPCs are in effect complementizer particles that carry verblike inflection. Since this conclusion may raise eyebrows, it is important to observe that PPCs are systemically isolated from the verbal system proper. They do not alternate with any plausibly correlatable verbal items that can appear in embedded sentences or that are compatible with negation or interrogation. To see this, consider the regular constructions that serve as default translation equivalents for ordinary copular clauses in other languages. The markings (a), (d) etc. are designed to facilitate comparability with the sets at (1) and (2) (examples of the (b) and (c) types would have been identical to the (a) type):

(6) a. Dilip daler netaa
Dilip group's leader
'Dilip is the leader of the group'

d. Dilip daler netaa nae
Dilip group's leader isn't
'Dilip isn't the leader of the group'

e. Dilip kaader netaa?
Dilip whose leader
'Whose leader is Dilip?'

f. Dilip daler netaa bole Tej jaaniyeche
Dilip group's leader C Tej has-told
'Tej has told (us) that Dilip is the leader of the group'

g. jodi Dilip daler netaa hae
if Dilip group's leader is
'if Dilip is the leader of the group'

As these examples illustrate, the default is what one often calls a null copula (the right formal analysis may well involve a structure without any phonologically null syntactic node); negation and the conditional particle 'if' elicit the overt copulas *nae* 'is not' and *hae* 'is'. These are quite distinct from the PPCs. So is the kinship-specifying use of the overt copula *hae* 'is, bears the x relationship (to someone)':

(7) Rames oxr bhaaipo hae
Ramesh his/her nephew is
'Ramesh is his/her nephew'

(8) uni Rameser kaakaa han
s/he.Hon Ramesh's uncle is
'He is Ramesh's uncle'

Another important point has to do with the usability of the verb *ha* 'become' in the Past form and the Present Progressive form. Consider (9a-d), which exemplify the Past form of the verb 'become' – we omit instantiation of analogous examples in the Present Progressive to avoid repetition:

(9) a. Dilip hólo daler netaa
Dilip became group's leader
'Dilip became the leader of the group'

b. Dilip daler netaa holo
Dilip group's leader became
'Dilip became the leader of the group'

c. hólo Dilip daler netaa
became Dilip group's leader
'Dilip did become the leader of the group'

d. Dilip hólo naa daler netaa
Dilip became Neg group's leader

Since *holo* 'became' is a regular verb, its default position is clause-final, as in (9b). When it occupies this niche, it carries the standard low intonation associated with a finite verb at clause-end. Otherwise, as we show by marking prominence on the first syllable of *hólo*, the verb carries some intonational prominence associated with the departure from its default placement. We omit the examples that would have been labelled (9e-g). To stray into that domain would take us too far afield, deep into the discussion of interrogatives or conditionals, of the association between a finite verb and the quotative particle, and other threads of inquiry that certainly matter but do not advance our understanding of the place of the PPC in clausal architecture.

It is important to note that (9a-d), and their Present Progressive counterparts, are acceptable in Bangla. One implication is that the ungrammaticality judgments at (1b-d) have to be elicited with care. A native speaker is liable to "correct" the low-profile *holo* in (1b-d) by substituting *hólo*, and to then report that the resulting string is acceptable. The linguist who wishes to arrive at a nuanced understanding of the data must keep insisting on the semantics (is such a judgment associated with the 'is' reading rather than with the 'became' reading?), and on the phonology (is the non-prominently intoned *holo* acceptable, or only *hólo*?). These precautions will need to be observed if comparative research is to be successful – and linguists will need to identify additional precautions that may turn out to be important in Odia and Asamiya.

3. The Subjunctive Connection

Methodological precautions must not be misused, of course, to shield this account from all possible refutation. There is in fact one perfectly real hole in the pattern, and this hole repays serious investigation. The Past variant of PPC, PPC.Pst, can take an Emphatic element *i* plus a Modal Particle *baa*, and can occur in non-medial (clause-initial or clause-final) position with these elements attached, as in (10b,c), as well as medially, as in (10a). Note, throughout, that it is the second *o* of *holó* that carries the intonation peak (cf. the 'become' examples at (9), where the peak is on the first *o*):

(10) a. Dilip holó-i baa daler netaa
Dilip PPC.Pst-Emph Prt group's leader
'It's fine if Dilip is the leader of the group'

b. Dilip daler netaa holó-i baa
Dilip group's leader PPC.Pst-Emph Prt
'It's fine if Dilip is the leader of the group'

c. holó-i baa Dilip daler netaa
PPC.Pst-Emph Prt Dilip group's leader
'It's fine if Dilip is the leader of the group'

The PresProg variant PPC.PrP, in contrast, cannot take these elements even in medial position, see (11a), and cannot occur non-medially, see (11b, c):

(11) a. *Dilip hocché-i baa daler netaa
Dilip PPC.PrP-Emph Prt group's leader

b. *Dilip daler netaa hocché-i baa
Dilip group's leader PPC.PrP-Emph Prt

c. *hocché-i baa Dilip daler netaa
PPC.PrP-Emph Prt Dilip group's leader

The regular data set (11), where PPC.PrP exhibits the expectedly rigid medial placement characteristic of any Bangla PPC, stands in sharp contrast with the exceptional paradigm (10), where we find PPC.Pst, in the company of these mysterious particles, willing to occupy initial and final positions in the clause. How are we to understand this contrast?

It has been argued elsewhere (Dasgupta 2005) that the sequence of Emphatic *i* plus Modal *baa* is licensed by a special "Past Subjunctive" mood that occurs only in root sentences, as in (12) (or – a point orthogonal to our concerns and thus not exemplified here – by an interrogative licensor):

(12) Dilip baadaam khelo-i baa
Dilip nuts eat.PstSbj-Emph Prt
'It's fine if Dilip eats nuts'

It seems to follow (and is suggested in Dasgupta 2000) that a PPC.Pst capable of hosting this sequence (and willing to travel with it to the edges of the clause) is formally TAM-specified as Past Subjunctive, though this specification is bleached when a copula carries it. We can go beyond this suggestion. It is true that Indicative Past morphology normally carries past time reference, as in (13):

(13) Dilip baadaam khelo, kaagoj porxlo aar ghumolo
Dilip nuts ate, paper read and napped
'Dilip ate nuts, read the newspaper, and had a nap'

But the Past Subjunctive shown at (12) seems to suspend time reference and thus to revert to the default present. This phenomenon is potentially an object of interest in the context of diachronic study, as the conditional adverbial participle also has the form *VERBle* built around the past tense affix:

(14) baaccaa ghumiye porxle maa berobe
child asleep fall.CndPcp mother will.leave
'The mother will leave when the child falls asleep'

Several Indo-Aryan languages use past tense based formations to express a conditional meaning. On the basis of what will no doubt prove to be an interesting diachronic thread, then, Bangla past tense morphology is able to take either an indicative or a subjunctive value. Such a subjunctive appears either in the invariant adverbial form of a conditional participle, or as an agreement-carrying past subjunctive that suspends past time reference. Given such an account, we need not posit bleaching in the case of PPC.Pst – we should regard it as simply instantiating the Past Subjunctive. In (10), this form exercises its rights as a Subjunctive verb and licenses a Modal Particle sequence. What requires explanation is the contrast between its mobility in (10) and its immobility when it serves as just a PPC.

One option is to suggest that PPC.Pst appears in the M (mood) region of the architecture of a root sentence as a functor that simply embodies the Past Subjunctive value. We implement this idea by proposing that PPC.Pst is a small v in the position described as M in Dasgupta (2000, 2005). When PPC.Pst exercises its minimal rights as a verb, as in (10), it takes part in the standard v-V-T complex in the propositional body of the clause and theta-marks arguments.

This proposal leaves unexplained the properties of PPC.PrP, however.

4. The Complementizer Connection

To move closer to an account that subsumes both types of PPC, consider certain facts about the complementizer particles that were labelled as Anchors in Dasgupta (1983) – particles such as *je* in (15a), *ki* in (15b) or *to* in (15c):

(15) a. Dilip je kaal eseche aami taa jaantaam naa
Dilip Anc yesterday came I it knew not
'I did not know that Dilip had come yesterday'

b. Dilip ki kaal eseche?
Dilip Anc yesterday came
'Did Dilip come yesterday?'

c. Dilip to kaal eseche
Dilip Anc yesterday came
'Dilip, of course, came yesterday'

As was pointed out in Dasgupta (1983), Anchors 'float', they can be niched in any non-initial clausal position:

(15) b'. Dilip kaal ki eseche?
Dilip yesterday Anc came
'Did Dilip come *yesterday*?'

b''. Dilip kaal eseche ki?
Dilip yesterday came Anc?
'Did Dilip *come* yesterday?'

However, the default Anchor position is right after the first major constituent. This is clear from the emphasis patterns shown above. In the non-default variants (15b', b'') the placement of the Anchor has the effect of highlighting the constituent immediately to its left. But the default variant (15b) simply questions the entire clause; it is possible to highlight 'Dilip', but this would involve playing the intonation card to mark the highlighting, a device not required in (15b', b''):

(15) b'''. Dílip ki kaal eseche?
Dilip Anc yesterday came
'Did *Dilip* come yesterday?'

Further evidence for the default status of the placement of an Anchor to the immediate right of the first major constituent comes from formulaic expressions. One example is (16):

(16) oraa ki baaner jale bhese eseche?
they Anc flood water.Loc floating have.come
'Lit. Have the flood waters brought them here? = Are they human garbage?'

If one places the Anchor elsewhere, as in (17), only the literal reading is available:

(17) oraa baaner jale bhese eseche ki?
they flood water.Loc floating have.come Anc
'Have the flood waters brought them here?'

Another formulaic expression, exemplified in (18), simply precludes any variant with non-standard Anchor placement, as we see at (19):

(18) bidduter aalo to durer kathaa, mombaatio nei
electric light Anc remote talk, candles.even are.not
'Not to speak of electric light, there aren't even any candles available'

(19) *bidduter aalo durer kathaa to, mombaatio nei
electric light remote talk Anc, candles.even are.not

As far as we know – and this comes after decades of watching out for counterexamples – there are no formulaic expressions in Bangla that involve non-default Anchor placement.

Now, the position of the Anchor is also precisely the niche occupied by the PPC; the two cannot occur together. To be sure, *ki* is an interrogative item and thus not a fit companion for a PPC, and *je* is a true embedder and thus disqualifies itself on that score. So we can only test with *to*, and we find:

(20) *Dilip to hocche/holo daler netaa
Dilip Anc PPC.PrP/.Pst group's leader

There is a pace of speaking that makes (20) acceptable. At that pace, though, it is possible to drag the sentence interminably, injecting hesitation markers in large numbers –

(21) Dilip to hocche, giye, jaake bale, maane, daler eakebaare aasol netaa
Dilip Anc PPC.PrP, well, what is.called, I.mean, group's absolutely real leader
'Dilip, let me see, is, well, what you call, like, the absolutely real leader of the group'

At the extremely relaxed pace exemplified in (21), it becomes possible to produce and accept string (20) as a specimen of relaxed, not quite rigorously sententially segmented discourse. But that way of using the language seems to introduce other conventions of parsing. These facts are worth bearing in mind as it is possible that diachronic study cannot afford to do business with syntax alone and must postulate leakages back and forth across the syntax-discourse boundary.

If the syntax proper does rule (20) out – and this is the basic hypothesis – then we can conclude that the PPC in both its variants occupies the characteristic topic particle position in the root sentence. The Anchor *to* which is in complementary distribution with the PPC is the quintessential topic marker in Bangla. When the PPC expresses the 'now' it chooses the Present Progressive TAM; when the PPC switches tense off and moves into the Subjunctive mood, we see the Past Subjunctive form, for reasons surveyed earlier. Either way, the PPC is best viewed as an inflected topicalizer that serves to accord the status of Topic to the constituent to its left.

But this is too brief a telling of the story. Syntacticians looking at Romance and Dravidian have come up with some ideas about Topic and Focus positions in the complementizer zone, and with some partly competing proposals regarding clause-internal Topic and Focus positions. We are led to ask just what kind of Topic position is involved.

The fact that a Focus marker may occur to the left of an Anchor *to* or to the left of a PPC, as in (22), (23), suggests that one Topic and one Focus position, plus certain frequently postulated types of movement, may suffice:

(22) ghum-i to aasol osudh
sleep-Emph Anc real medicine
'It is sleep, of course, that is the real medicine'

(23) ghum-i hocche aasol osudh
sleep-Emph PPC real medicine
'It is sleep that is the real medicine'

There is a twist to this tale, though. Consider cases like (24):

(24) maathaa dharaar bealaae to ghum-i hocche aasol osudh
head ache case.Loc Anc sleep-Emph PPC real medicine
'For headaches, it is sleep that is the real medicine'

Here, we have evidence for two Topics and one Focus position. There is a slight sense of heaviness or overloadedness in a sentence like (24), but this must be distinguished from the unstructured impression produced by (21). The slight strain associated with (24) is quite likely to be a result of so many positions being filled.

Future work seeking to unravel this and related mysteries will also need to use the methods of (synchronic) comparative syntax. Recent work comparing Asamiya and Bangla material at the nominal left periphery (Dasgupta and Ghosh 2007) may help open up the interaction between nominal and clausal positions for further investigation. But it pays to venture further into the Indo-Aryan field. It has long been mysterious that nominal-internal focusing should be correlated with gender marking. The languages devoid of grammatical gender such as Bangla exhibit no nominal-internal focusing at all. Hindi-Urdu, which distinguishes the masculine from the feminine, permits the use of the dissociative emphasizer *hii* in the position Dem__N (as in *yahii laRkaa* 'this.Emph boy', for 'this very boy') as an alternative to Dem N Emph, but not the use of the associative emphasizer *bhii*, which is confined to the postnominal position, as in *ye laRkaa bhii* 'this boy too' (*ye-bhii laRkaa* is ill-formed). In contrast, Marathi, with a three-gender system (m, f, n), permits the entire paradigm –

(25) a. haac mulgaa
this.Emph boy 'this very boy'

b. haa mulgaac
this boy.Emph 'this very boy'

c. haa panx mulgaa
this Emph boy 'this boy too'

d. haa mulgaa panx
this boy Emph 'this boy too'

This is a long pending problem (the data first came to our attention in 1984). Addressing it would make a difference to our capabilities elsewhere in the architecture of the clause.

Summarizing, the material assembled makes it clear that comparative work on

Eastern Indo-Aryan PPCs must consider both the modal system of the verb and the handling of topic and focus status in the architecture of nominals and clauses – especially root sentences – on the way to a serious account of corresponding material in Bangla's sister languages. Further synchronic work on these issues may certainly be expected to make the diachronic burden lighter. But an Indo-Aryanist is bound to find, in the traditions of Indo-Aryan and Indo-European studies, very deeply embedded insights about the properties of what today's formal syntacticians devoid of diachronic knowledge routinely call "Wackernagel's position". That inflected items in this position are of comparative synchronic interest has long been known in present-day Germanic linguistics (from Hauptsatz finite verb phenomena to Bavarian inflected complementizers). It is now time for the easternmost branch of the Indo-Germanic family to take a leaf out of that book.

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Bengali Compounds, Are They All Seamless?*+

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"A 'compound' is like a helium atom which does not contain two hydrogen atoms. ... a 'compound' word does not contain two independent words, but provides a structure."

(Singh and Dasgupta 1999:270)

1. Introduction

Unlike in the majority of works since Panini, 'morphology' in the present text does not mean ONLY the study or analysis of 'internal structure of words' but rather, some algorithm or process through which new words can be formed, understood or retrieved in case of need (see Ford et al. 1997 for details). In this article, we claim that not all words that are traditionally described as *compounds* can be shown to be output of some morphological process. We present two different stands *vis-à-vis* compounds, one by Anderson (1992), and the other by Singh and Dasgupta (1999). For Anderson, all types of words are amorphous except compounds whereas Singh and Dasgupta make an unconditional claim that all words including the so-called compounds are amorphous. Although Singh and Dasgupta convincingly show that Anderson's doubt about the amorphousness of compounds is without ground, there are, in Bengali, some complex words which may be problematic for their unconditional claim about word formation.

This article has six sections. In the 2nd section, we give a very brief description of the model W(hole) W(ord) M(orphology) and its stand *vis-à-vis* compounds. In the 3rd section, we show the difference between word-analysis and morphology. In the 4th section, we present Anderson's stand *vis-à-vis* compounds followed by a WWM analysis of the examples that made him doubtful about the amorphousness of compounds. In the 5th section, we provide some examples of complex Bengali words which seem to be problematic for WWM, and finally, we draw some conclusions.

2. Whole Word Morphology and its strong claim about single variable

In W(hole) W(ord) M(orphology) (elaborated in Ford et al. 1997) it is claimed that as soon as there exist in a lexicon at least two pairs of words based on the same i) formal difference, ii) semantic relatedness and iii) categorical affiliation, a W(ord) F(ormation) S(trategy) may become part of the morphological module of the speaker-hearer who in case of need can use the WFS to form, understand or retrieve a certain word.

A WFS has the following form: $/X/_{\alpha} \leftrightarrow /X'/_{\beta}$

The morphological relation between *friendly* and *manly* is given by (1) which can be activated to form or analyze any adjective ending in /lɪ/. (1) instantiates a morphological strategy of English because it is licensed by at least two pairs of words based on the same i) formal difference: X/Xlɪ (/lɪ/ is a realization of the prime), ii) semantic relatedness: '/X/-like' and iii) categorical affiliation: Noun/Adjective.

1. $/X/_{Noun} \leftrightarrow /Xl\text{ɪ}/_{Adjective}$ '/X/-like'
friend ↔ friendly
man ↔ manly

For Singh (2006) "Morphological complexity is a matter of the analyzability (≠ segmentability) of a word into a *variable* (*friend/man*) and a *constant* (/lɪ/) component with respect to a WFS" (examples are mine)[1]. According to Singh and Ford (2000:308) these components "have been non-hierarchically put together, provided, of course, there are strategies that license such analysis."

Singh (2001:344) claims that "all that needs to be said about word-structure in any language (of any type whatsoever) can and must be said" by instantiation of the schema $/X/_\alpha \leftrightarrow /X'/_\beta$. This implies, and Singh & Dasgupta (1999:270) strongly claim, that i) "only single-variable WFSs exist"[2], and that ii) there cannot be but one morphology for all types of words which means that no difference between derivational/inflectional, clitic/non-clitic, productive/non-productive, concatenative/non-concatenative, affixation/compounding, template/non-template', etc. can reasonably be maintained.

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[1] Word subcomponents like *variable* and *constant* should not be confused with Paninian categories like *stem* and *affix*. It should be clearly understood that it is not the intention of the architects of WWM to make use of the Paninian categories by giving them a different name. Unlike word subparts like *stem* or *affix* word sub-components like *variable* and *constant* have no fixed status and do not need to be continuous entities. For example, the Arabic word /k-i-t-a-b/ can be analyzed into a *variable* and a *constant* which are represented by a discontinuous sequence of consonants: /k/-/t/-/b/ *and* /i/-/a/ respectively. Subcomponents can be represented by any phonic element: stress, phonemic change, single phoneme, meaningless sound cluster, simple or complex word, discontinuous and inseparable segmental as well as supra-segmental means (a *variable*, however, must be segmental). This said, quite coincidentally, when a subcomponent is represented by a continuous sequence of phonemes, it can have phonic resemblance to word parts which some grammatical traditions would label as *morpheme, root, stem* or *affix*. As Singh (2004:191) states : "The point is NOT that our variables don't ever correspond to what neo-Paninians call roots and stems – they do in a very large number of case – but that we see that as synchronically irrelevant."

[2] This said, a WFS may require its partially specified (a) or unspecified (b) variable to be repeated, as is the case in Reduplication (see Singh 2003, Bhattacharja 2006, 2007 for details):

a. $/CX/_{Adj} \leftrightarrow /CX\text{ʃ}X/_{Adj}$ '/CX/ and alike'
/bɔro/ 'big' ↔ /bɔroʃɔro/ 'big and alike'
/moʈa/ 'fat' ↔ /moʈaʃoʈa/ 'fat and alike'

b. $/X/_{Adj} \leftrightarrow /XX/_{Adj}$ '/X/ in plural'
/bɔro/ 'big' ↔ /bɔrobɔro/ 'big_{plural}'
/moʈa/ 'fat' ↔ /moʈamoʈa/ 'fat_{plural}'

The WWM stand vis-à-vis compounds is the following: i) if such words can be formed or analyzed like any other word with the schema $/X/_{\alpha} \leftrightarrow /X'/_{\beta}$, there is nothing special about them, and ii) if they are not mappable onto any WFS, morphology does not need to bother about them. The only difference between *affixation* and *compounding* is that in compounding, the constant subcomponent or the affix part have phonetic resemblance with some full word. On the one hand, WWM does not make any difference between a constant that resembles a full words and a constant that does not, and on the other, at some point of diachrony, a good number of constants and all so-called affixes must have been full words. (For example, the constant *–ly* of the word *friendly* analyzable with (1) derived diachronically from the full word *like*). Once a full word is used as constant in some strategy it undergoes categorical, semantic and formal changes – a diachronic process known as 'grammaticalisation'[3]. It is obvious that some of the today's full words are undergoing the process of grammaticalisation and will appear as constants in some WFS in near future.

WWM claims that there is not but one morphology. The three types of word-formation: *affixation, compounding* and *reduplication,* which are, according to atomistic approaches, quite different from each other, can be explained with the same formula $/X/_{\alpha} \leftrightarrow /X'/_{\beta}$. All complex words, whether they have been compounded, derived with affixation or reduplicated, once we map them onto some WFS, they are equally analyzed into a variable and a constant subcomponent.

3. The difference between 'word analysis' and morphology

The classification of words in different *Samaasa* categories (e.g. *Dvanda, Bahuvrihi, Karmadhaaraya,* etc.) in Panini's grammar represents, in our view, a particular type of semantic, categorical and lexical analysis of those words, but not really their morphology. The same compound can be classified as *bahuvrihi* (exocentric) or *Karmadhaarya* (endocentric) depending on its meaning. For example, the Sanskrit word *vinapani* (vina-hand) is a *bahuvrihi* compound because it denotes 'the goddess of knowledge and art' and not any man or woman who holds a vina in his/her hand. But, if an ordinary man or woman holds a vina in his/her hand, he/she may also be described as a *vinapani,* but in that case, the word will be a *Karmadhaarya* compound, because the meaning of the compound depends on the meaning of its constituents. A Sanskrit compound may belong to a particular *Samaasa* category if it contains a particular word or a word belonging to a particular class of word. For example, *anuvanam* 'near the forest' is an *Avyaibhaaba* compound because it contains an *avyaya* (indeclinable

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[3] Bybee (1996: 253-255) describes the century old idea of grammaticalisation as follows "The vast majority of affixes in the languages of the world evolve from independent words by the gradual process of 'grammaticization' or 'grammaticalisation'." ... "In the progression from a lexical morpheme to a grammatical one, changes occur in the phonological shape of the morpheme, its meaning and its grammatical behavior."... "Most derivational affixes in English and other languages can similarly be tracked back to independent words where evidence is available" and "The process of grammaticalization is not discrete, but continuous; grammaticization in the form of semantic change and further phonological reduction and fusion continues even after grammatical status is achieved, and even after affixation occurs.

word):{anu} (*Astaadhyaayi* 2.1.15). But words like *akshaparii* 'unlucky throw of dice (in gambling)' (*Astaadhyaayi* 2.1.10) or *sapta-gangaam* 'at the confluence of seven Ganges' (*Astaadhyaayi* 2.1.20) which do not contain any *avyaya* are also considered as *Avyaibhaaba* compounds. It seems that *Samaasa* rules were used to analyze attested words rather than to form new words. They constitute particular ways of lexical classification which means that one can classify attested compounds following Paninian rules if he wants to do so.

An analysis of the Bengali *Dvanda* compound /pitamata/ 'parents' gives the impression that such compounds are formed by combining any two kinship words like /pita/ 'father' and /mata/ 'mother' belonging to two opposite biological genders. But words like */abbamata/ (/abba/ is a word of Hindi/Urdu origin meaning 'father' and /mata/ is a word of Sanskrit origin meaning 'mother') formed with such a rule are not acceptable. One may say that such words are ruled out because they are violating the famous law of *gurucandaali* which prohibits mixing an Aryan *guru* with an untouchable *candaal,* metaphorically representing elements from two different sources of a Bengali lexicon: Sanskrit on the one hand, and Persian, Arabic, English, etc. on the other. But then, how can words like /biyeʃadi/ 'marriage and similar occasions' (where /biye/ is a word of Sanskrit origin and /ʃadi/ is a word of Persian origin both meaning 'marriage') or /b^{h}aiberadɔr/ 'brother and other relatives' (where /b^{h}ai/ is word of Sanskrit origin meaning 'brother' and /beradɔr/ which we suppose to be a word of English origin (<brother)), remain acceptable?

The analysis of a Bengali *Karmadhaaraya* word like /g^{h}ɔrɟama^{j}/ (literally: house-bridegroom, meaning 'a bridegroom who lives in his parents-in-law's house in the patriarchal Bengali society') should allow us to form new words like */gramɟama^{j}/ (literally: village-bridegroom, meaning the bridegroom who lives in his parents-in-law's village') which are not acceptable either. One may also analyze a Bengali *Bahuvrihi* compound like /gayeholud/ (literally: body-turmeric) which denotes 'a particular ceremony preceding some body's marriage in which the relatives and friends rub turmeric paste on the body of the bride or the bridegroom' and try to form similar words like /gayemoric/ (body-chilly) or /muk^{h}eholud/ 'mouth-turmeric', but these sequences are not acceptable words.

Panini's *Samaasa* rules like *pada-vidhíh samarthâh* (*Astaadhyaayi* 2.1.1.)[4] as well as the classification of compounds in different categories such as *endocentric, exocentric, root-compounds, synthetic compounds,* etc. in most of the present-day text books, have not in fact much to do with morphology but rather represent a particular type of lexical and/or semantic analysis of complex words. Although traditionally,

[4] This rule means that a *vidhih* 'operation' on different *padas* 'inflected words' takes effect only when they are *samarthâh* 'semantically and syntactically connected' (TR. Katre). Therefore, according to Panini, *compounding* consists in combining semantically and syntactically related inflected words.

word-analysis is taken for morphology, in our view, it is a wrong practice, because, in most cases, a word analysis rule cannot be used for forming or understanding a new word.

4. Anderson's doubt about amorphous morphology

Between the two different approaches to morphology, one *atomistic* or *Paninian*,[5] which considers morphology to be combination of units smaller than word (such as morpheme, affix, stem, root, etc.) and the other, *holistic*[6], which claims words to be seamless wholes, Anderson (1992) pleads for the latter but does not completely reject the former because there is this 'compounding' which (293) "consists in the combination of (two or more) existing words into a new word and "the elements combined in a compound happen to enjoy independent status, while at most one of the elements combined in derivation is autonomous." This implies, and Anderson (218) claims, that "a few types of word formation in some languages may exceptionally yield internally structured forms." In sum, for Anderson, morphology is in principle amorphous (or seamless) except for compounds.

Words that are generally described as 'compounds' shall basically fall into two different categories:

i) Those which can be obtained from a *process* or *rule* of word formation or a WFS (2-5) and therefore, rightfully concern morphology:

2. $/X/_{Noun} \leftrightarrow /Xha\upsilon s/_{Noun}$
Dog ↔ Doghouse
Bird ↔ Birdhouse

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[5] The atomistic view of morphology goes back to Panini, who lived in the north-west region of South Asia (now in the frontier between Pakistan and Afghanistan) around 6th century B.C. (cf. Katre 1989). A good number of the existing models of morphology are largely influenced by or are in the line of the Paninian school as all of them encourage morphology to be a matter of *divide and rule* (cf. Ford et al. 1997) which means that one must divide words into smaller subparts (*root, stem, affix*, etc.) in order to find out the rules of their concatenation. Quintessentially, the atomistic or Paninian approaches sees morphology, as Singh (2001:344) puts it, "as a combinatorics of units smaller than the word, involving word-internal syntax in some versions, and allows morphological operations on those units." Therefore, by 'atomistic' or 'Paninian' I point to a certain type of morphological theory which share a common belief that (i) words have internal hierarchical structure and that (ii) words result from the combination of different types of 'word-parts' labeled as *stem, radical, root, affix*, etc.

[6] The holistic view of morphology goes back to Bhartrihari, an eminent critic of Paninian morphology, who lived in India around 8th century AD. In my view, a true holistic theory would reject the idea that words can be divided into smaller sub-parts. Holistic models of morphology are intrinsically word-based but the contrary is not true, which means that not all word-based models of morphology are necessarily holistic. The inputs and the outputs of the word-formation rules proposed by a word-based model are words but the model of morphology remains atomistic if it does not categorically reject units smaller than the word (root, stem, affix, etc.). A good number of models of morphology known as 'word-based' (for example, Aronoff 1976) are in fact stem-based. In some stem-based approaches, atomistic units are considered as part of word-formation rules and in some others they are listed in the lexicon.

3. $/X/_{\text{Adjective/Noun}} \leftrightarrow /\text{æfrəʊ}X/_{\text{Adjective/Noun}}$
   American ↔ Afro-American
   Asian ↔ Afro-Asian

4. $/X/_{\text{Noun}} \leftrightarrow /X\text{beri}/_{\text{Noun}}$
   black ↔ blackberry
   blue ↔ blueberry

5. $/X/_{\text{Noun}} \leftrightarrow /X\text{smi}\theta/_{\text{Noun}}$
   gold ↔ goldsmith
   tin ↔ tinsmith

and ii) those which exhibit an unrepeated *pattern* like (6-7) and therefore, should not concern morphology[7]:

6. $/X/_{\text{Noun}} \Leftrightarrow /\text{cræn}X/_{\text{Noun}}$
   berry ⇔ cranberry

7. $/X/_{\text{Noun}} \Leftrightarrow /X\text{smi}\theta/_{\text{Noun}}$
   black ⇔ blacksmith

Singh & Dasgupta (1999) on the one hand, and Starosta (2003) on the other, convincingly show that among the so-called compounds (such as *Afro-American, truck driver, dog house, brother-in-law*) which lead Anderson to be dubious about amorphous morphology, some show unrepeated patterns and the rest are outputs of morphological processes. Once the latter are mapped onto their appropriate processes, one of their constituents shows up as the 'constant' (e.g. *house, afro, berry, smith*) which, despite the phonological resemblance it has with its regular word counterpart, cannot be considered as a full word any more within the boundary of the complex word it is part of.[8] In sum, for Singh and Dasgupta as well as for Starosta, Anderson gives up his holistic approach too soon and for examples that can be easily handled.

5. Strategies with two variables

There are some complex adjectives in Bengali, such as /pãchati/ 'measuring five hands' or /pãcbɔcʰormeʸadi/ 'five year long' which can be analyzed into a constant and two different variables. If we map the adjective /pãchati/ onto (8) it will be

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[7] In order to make notational difference between *process* and *pattern*, we have used different types of bi-directional arrows in (2-5) and (6-7)

[8] As the phonemic sequence /æbl/ is used i) as a full word (e.g. *John is <u>able</u> to understand morphology*) and ii) also as a suffix (e.g. *profit-<u>able</u>*), the phonemic sequences like /haus/ or /smiθ/ have also two different uses. This implies that the suffix /haus/ in a complex word like *dog<u>house</u>* should not be confused with the full word /haus/ in a sentence like *John bought a <u>house</u>*. The phonological resemblance between the suffix and the regular word it derives from is a question of degree. For example, *house* in (2) is more word-like as compared to *afro* in (3) and *afro* is again relatively more word-like as compared to *ly* in (1).

analyzed into the constant /i/ and two variables represented by the numeral /pãc/ 'five' and the measure word /hat/ 'hand' respectively. Equally, /nɔʸʃɔptahomeʸadi/ 'nine week long', an output (throughout the present text the term 'output' categorically means the 'right-hand output') of (9), is constituted of the constant /meʸadi/ and two variables represented by the numeral /nɔʸ/ 'nine' and the measure word /ʃɔptaho/ 'week' respectively. An adjective like /dɔʃmatʰaoala/ 'who/which has ten heads' (10) can be analyzed into two variables as well: /dɔʃ/ 'ten' and /matʰa/ 'head'.

8. $/X/_{Numeral} \leftrightarrow //X/_{Numeral}/YC/_{Measure\ word}i/_{Adj}$ 'measuring /X/ number of /YC/'
   /pãc/ 'five' ↔ /pãchati/ 'measuring five hands'
   /nɔʸ/ 'nine' ↔ /nɔʸgozi/ 'measuring nine yards'
   /baro/ 'twelve' ↔ /barofuʈi/ 'measuring twelve feet'

9. $/CX/_{Measure\ word} \leftrightarrow //Y/_{Numeral}/CX/_{Measure\ word}\ me^{y}adi/_{Adj}$ 'lasting /Y/ number of /CX/'
   /bɔcʰor/ 'year' ↔ /pãcbɔcʰormeʸadi/ 'five year long'
   /ʃɔptaho/ 'week' ↔ /nɔʸʃɔptahomeʸadi/ 'nine week long'
   /maʃ/ 'month' ↔ /egaromaʃmeʸadi/ 'eleven month long'

10. $/X/_{Noun} \leftrightarrow //Y/_{Numeral}/X/_{Noun}\ wala/_{Adj}$ 'having /Y/ number of /X/'
    /matʰa/ 'head' ↔ /dɔʃmatʰawala/ 'ten headed'
    /cokh/ 'eye' ↔ /duʲcokʰwla/ 'two eyed'[9]

The outputs of (11-14) are interesting in the sense that their right hand variable /CY/ functions as their head and hence, they justify Anderson's claim (1992:319) about the headedness of some words: "one notion for which an appeal to word-internal structure seems necessary, that of the head of the word." In the outputs of (11), the variable /XC/ functions as the agent/subject of the verb (head)[10] and in those of (12-13),

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[9]English counterparts of these words, such as *four-footed, one-eyed,* etc. can be formed with (c). It will be interesting to see whether there are multi-variables words in other languages as well.

c. $/XC/_{Noun\ (body\ part)} \leftrightarrow //Y/_{Numeral}/XC/_{Noun\ (body\ part)}ed/_{Adj}$ 'having /Y/ number of /XC/'
   foot ↔ four-footed
   head ↔ ten-headed

[10] These forms are in fact *verbals* which, following the European grammatical tradition, may be described as *infinitive* or as *verbal noun.* However, we must note that Bengali verbals do not fit completely the categories like *infinitive, participle,* etc. for their uses differ significantly from the latter. For example, the verbals ending in *a/wa* in (11-12) can be used as argument (subject/complement) of a verb and also as modifier of a noun. Hence, they combine the functions of infinitive and those of past participle (see Bhattacharja 2007 for details).

the variable /X/ functions as the patient/complement of the variable /CY/. In (14), the variable /X/ functions as the goal of the variable /CY/.

11. $/XC/_{Noun} \leftrightarrow //XC/_{Noun}/CY/_{Verbal\ noun/Adjective}/_{Noun/Adjective}$ 'having been /CY/ by /XC/'

a) /bagʰ/ 'tiger' ↔ /bagʰekʰawa/ 'eaten by a tiger'

b) /ʃidur/ 'mouse' ↔ /ʃidurekaʈa/ 'cut by a mouse'

c) /ʈebil/ 'table' ↔ */ʈebilekaʈa/ 'cut by a table'

12. $/X/_{Noun} \leftrightarrow //X/_{Noun}/CY/_{Verbal\ noun/Adjective}/_{Noun/Adjective}$ '/CY/-ed /X/'

a) /botam/ 'button' ↔ /botamkʰola/ 'with buttons open'

b) /lok/ 'people' ↔ /lokhaʃano/ 'which makes people laugh'

c) /ʈebil/ 'table' ↔ */ʈebilhaʃano/ 'which makes a table laugh'

13. $/X/_{Noun} \leftrightarrow //X/_{Noun}/CY/_{Noun}/_{Noun}$ 'the act of doing /CY/ to /X/'

a) /brikkʰo/ 'tree' ↔ /brikkʰonidʰon/ 'the act of killing/cutting of trees'

b) /ɔnno/ 'rice' ↔ /ɔnnobʰɔkkʰɔn/ 'the act of eating of rice'

14. $/X/_{Noun} \leftrightarrow //X/_{Noun}/CY/_{Noun}/_{Noun}$ 'the act of doing /CY/ in/towards /X/'

a) /amerika/ 'America' ↔ /amerikabʰrɔmon/ 'the act of traveling in America'

b) /ɟapan/ 'Japan' ↔ /ɟapanɟatra/ 'the act of going to Japan'[11]

The semantic and/or sub-categorical properties of the verbs in (11-12) are maintained within the word boundary because the left hand variable must be chosen among nouns that are allowed to be argument or circumstantial complement of the particular verb. For example, in (11c) the inanimate noun /ʈebil/ 'table' cannot have an agentive relation with the verb /kaʈa/ 'to cut'[12] and in (12c), it cannot be used as the patient/complement of the verb /haʃano/ 'to make laugh'.

15. */pãc birɔktikɔr bɔcʰormeʸadi/
(five) (boring) (year long)
Tr. Five boring year long (e.g. linguistic field work)

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[11] Kageyama (1989) and Shibatani (1990) describe Japanese counterparts of these words, such as *amerikahoomon* 'travel in America' or *indohoomon* 'travel in India' as post-syntactic compounds. We claim that such words can be analyzed with appropriate WFSs, and therefore, do not need to be formed post-syntactically.

[12] However, /ʈebilekaʈa/ can be accepted with a different meaning 'cut on the table'. In that case /ʈebil/ 'table' will have a different syntactic relation with the variable /kaʈa/ 'cut'.

16. */bag^{h}e gɔtokal k^{h}awa/
    (by a tiger) (yesterday) (eaten)
    Tr. (e.g. A dead body) eaten by a tiger yesterday

17. */lok ɔnekbar haʃano/
    (people) (many times) (make laugh)
    Tr. (Something) that makes people laugh several times.

The outputs of (8-14) cannot be considered as phrases or lexicalized syntactic constructions because, as (15-17) show, nothing can be inserted in between their constituents. I claim that i) they are not mere sporadic creations of some speaker at a given point of time, and that ii) such morphologically complex words abound in all the dialects of Bengali including the standard one. Unless and until some counter evidence is found, I would even make a stronger claim regarding (12) that it can combine any noun with any transitive verb provided their sub-categorical properties do not clash.

6. Conclusion

We agree with the WWM claim that all so-called compounds which are mappable onto mono-variable WFS differ in no significant way from the outputs of the so-called derivation (see Becker 2000, Stekauer 2005 and Booij 2005 for a similar opinion given from a different point of view). This said, we have to admit that the outputs of (8-14) are more or less problematic for any genuine holistic approach of morphology because if morphology allows more than one variable in any word, or if the subcomponents of a word maintain syntactic relationship between them, it will necessarily imply that not all words are 'seamless wholes'. Such words which, on the one hand, call into question the strong WWM claim about the unconditional seamlessness of word, and on the other, put Anderson's doubt about the same on a reasonably solid ground, deserve attention in future research.[13] However, the existence of (8-14) does in no way call into question the WWM stand vis-à-vis compounding because (i) whether some words have internal structure or not, and (ii) whether we need compounding as a particular morphological process or not are two separate issues.

* I dedicate this article to the memory of cine-cameraman Subrata Ripon who had been one of my dearest ones and who I accompanied to Vellore where I finished an earlier version of this article and where he succumbed to cancer a few days later at the CMC hospital, on the 9th of October 2008.

+ I am grateful to my senior colleague Dil Afroze Quader for weeding out the grammatical and stylistic oddities left in one of the penultimate versions of this paper.

[13] See Becker (2000:284) who also claims that the exclusion of 'two-variable rules' "does not seem to be valid for German compounds". He further argues that (286) "the constraint of one variable seems to be too strong" and "a rule with two variables seems to be appropriate."

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Left Dislocation in Hindi-Urdu: Movement or Construal?

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I Introduction

Hindi-Urdu (henceforth HU) left dislocated structures, at par with standard analyses for left dislocated structures in other languages, have been usually accorded a non-movement/construal analysis (Dwivedi 1994). Left dislocated NPs, under such an analysis are base generated at their surface position and related to a pronoun placed somewhere down in the structure via binding. However, a careful scrutiny of more data from the language displays the construction's compliance with all the criteria of movement. Left dislocated structures in the language show reconstruction and binding effects, island-sensitivity etc., thus providing ample evidence for postulating a movement/derivational account for such constructions. Taking the movement diagnostics as the starting point, this paper argues that the dislocated NPs start off as complements to pronominal elements, and later A-bar move to the extreme edge of the left periphery of the sentence at another point of the derivation. Following Takahashi (1994), Boeckx (2001), I assume that movement of the left dislocated NP takes place in short successive steps, the landing at the intermediate positions being driven not by the need to satisfy some feature of the heads of the intermediate phrases, but simply as a requirement for the steps to be as local as possible.

This paper further looks at the interaction of left dislocation in HU with scrambling - another A-bar dependency in the language. It is observed that HU left dislocated NPs are compatible with short distance scrambling while they display minimality effects with long distance scrambling. HU left dislocated nominals cannot cross over a long-distance scrambled element and vice versa. I argue that these facts substantiate our claim that left dislocation in Hindi-Urdu is successive-cyclic movement to an A-bar site.

II Background Information

Left dislocated structures involve two phonetically distinct elements for the same referent, one element situated at the left periphery of the sentence and the other, a pronominal/demonstrative located lower down in the structure. An example of a left dislocated structure in English is given in (1), with *John* as the left dislocated NP, acting as an antecedent to the resumptive pronoun *him* located in the canonical object position of the sentence.

1) John-i, I do not like him-i.

One analysis for left dislocated structures is proposed in Chomsky (1977). He illustrates the difference between topicalisation and left dislocation in the following way.

2) *This book, to whom should we give?

3) This book, to whom should we give it?

Sentences (2) and (3) are instances of topicalisation and left dislocation respectively. (2) is ruled out as a violation of doubly filled COMP filter (wh-island constraint). On the other hand, the perfect acceptability of structures like (3) indicates that movement is not involved. Chomsky (1977) explains this difference by claiming that though both (2) and (3) involve a base generated topic NP, only topicalisation involves movement of a wh-operator (that is deleted once it raises to the target COMP position). Lasnik and Saito (1992) uphold the non-derivational/construal approach to left dislocation advocated by Chomsky by pointing out the asymmetry observed in structures (4) and (5). The topicalisation structure in (4), according to them, is ruled out as a result of ECP violation (that-trace effect), while the left dislocated structure (5) is well-formed as it involves no NP-movement and hence no unbound trace.

4) *John, I think that t-i won the race.

5) John, I think that he-i won the race.

In their analysis for cases where topicalisation is allowed and left dislocation is not allowed (compare examples (6) and (7)), Lasnik and Saito propose that topicalisation involves IP/TP adjunction in most cases and movement to spec, CP in some matrix contexts. Left dislocated NPs, on the other hand, are restricted to the specifier of the Topic Phrase in the clause.[2]

6) I believe that this book-i, you should definitely read t-i.

7) *I believe that this book-i, you should definitely read it-i.

Some researchers have however pointed out that non-movement accounts do not suffice for left dislocated structures in all languages. Grohmann (2000) - in his analysis of two different types of left dislocated structures in German (Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD) and Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD)) - proposes that the former, as opposed to the latter, must be derived by movement. He argues that the resumptive pronoun found in CLD constructions is the spelled out copy of the moved/dislocated NP. To substantiate his claim, he cites reconstruction and island constraints in CLD sentences. Similar claims for a non-construal/movement account of left dislocation have also been made for some types of left dislocated and clitic left dislocated structures in Lebanese Arabic (Aoun and Benmanoun 1998, Aoun, Choueiri and Hornstein 2001). I postpone the discussion of these analyses for later sections and instead move on to a quick survey of left dislocated structures in HU and a previous analysis proposed for them by Dwivedi (1994).

III Left Dislocated NPs in HU

This section is a brief illustration of the properties of left dislocated structures in HU. Some examples are given in (8)-(9), with all left dislocated NPs and resumptive pronouns underlined.

8) voh aurat-i, john usse-i dilo jaanse pyaar kartaa hĩ
That woman, John her whole-heartedly love do be
'John is madly in love with that woman'

9) voh aurat-i, john soctaa he ki bill usse-i dilo jaanse pyaar kartaa hai
That woman, John thinks be that Bill her whole-heartedly love do be
'John thinks that Bill is madly in love with that woman'

Dwivedi (1994) points out to some other properties of these constructions. They are listed below.

10)

a) Dislocated NP may only bear nominative case.

b) Only one dislocated NP may appear in a given construction.

c) Dislocated NPs may (must?) not occur clause medially.

Point (a) says that dislocated NPs must necessarily appear with nominative case (which is phonologically null in the language). Sentences (8) and (9) illustrate this point; in both cases, the dislocated NPs bear phonetically null nominative case. I must however mention here that this observation is not necessarily right. HU does display structures where the dislocated NP takes overt accusative/dative (*ko*), as evidenced below in (11).

(11) us aurat-ko-i, me jaantii hu ki john usko-i bahut pyaar kartaa hĩ
That woman, I know be that John her very love do be
'I know that John is madly in love with that woman'

For point (b), consider (12) and (13), which are rendered unacceptable due to the presence of multiple left dislocated NPs.

12) *voh aurat-i, voh baccaa-j, johnne use-i usko-j de diyaa
That woman, that child John-erg her him give-past
'John gave the child to that woman'

13) *voh aurat-i, voh baccaa-j hame lagtaa he ki priyane usko-i use-j dii
That woman, that child me-dat feel be that Priya her it give
'It seems to me that John gave the child to that woman'

Left dislocated structures also fail to occur clause-medially, as illustrated by the following ill-formed sentences.

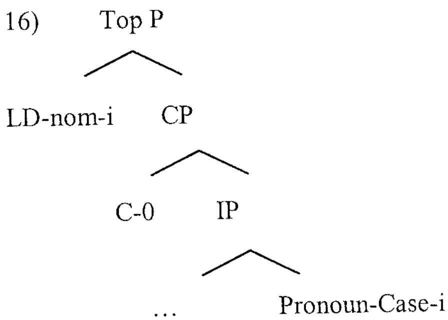
14) *johnne voh bacca-i maryko use-i de diyaa
John that child Mary him gave
'John gave that child to Mary'

15) */?hame lagtaa he, ki vo aurat-i Ali samajtaa he ki sudhane usse-i baat kiyaa thaa
Me-dat feel be that that woman Ali thinks be that Sudha her talk do be
'I think that Ali thinks that Sudha talked to that woman.'

IV A Construal Account

HU left dislocated elements have been accorded a base generated account by Dwivedi (1994). She analyses left dislocated elements as base generated elements in a Topic Phrase node that is adjoined to a CP (16). The dislocated NP is licensed via the condition in (17), adopted from Baker (1991).

16)



17) A noun phrase in an adjoined position is licensed if it c-commands a co-referent NP in an argument position.

By (16), a non-movement relation is formed between the dislocated NP in an A-bar position and a pronominal NP in an A-position, and "this relation is enough to transmit theta roles but apparently not Case". Dwivedi claims that this is the reason why the left dislocated NP has be to appear with a default nominative Case, instead of a normal structural case assigned by the verb. Further, since these NPs are base generated at specifier positions, their multiple occurrences are disallowed. This claim of course presupposes that phrases cannot entertain multiple specifiers, a suggestion which does not tally well with recent advances in generative linguistics (cf Chomsky 1995 a.o). Finally, these NPs are never allowed in a clause medial position since they are merged in the clause external position, which also happens to be their surface position.

V Evidence for a Movement Account

Dwivedi's construal account has its limitations, as I aim to show in this section. First of all, as I have already illustrated in a previous section, left dislocated NPs are, contra Dwivedi's claim, optionally marked for accusative and other cases. So it is incorrect to suggest that a) they obligatory receive default nominative case and b) default nominative case is evidence that there is no movement involved in such cases. Moreover, since current generative theories allow for multiple specifiers drawing ample empirical support from numerous languages (like Russian and Bulgarian etc), Dwivedi's answer for the absence of multiple left dislocated structures in the same clause cannot be right. This particular feature could be a consequence of some other restriction in HU grammar, as for instance, the restriction on multiple overtly marked topics. It is perhaps incorrect to predict that this 'single left dislocated NP constraint' is evidence for lack of movement in such structures. Moreover, there are plenty of studies that have shown that

dislocated items (such as scrambled NPs and wh-phrases) do not necessarily get pronounced in intermediate landing sites (see cf. Mahajan 1990). This could be because a) the final landing site has a head whose features have to be satisfied, hence making the movement obligatory, or b) the dislocated NP receives a topic interpretation, which is associated mainly with the left periphery of the clause. In short, there are alternative explanations for the peculiarities of left dislocation in HU other than the construal account provided by Dwivedi. In addition, there are other peculiar characteristics of these structures that have not been considered by her. I aim to bring these features to the fore here, citing them as evidence for a movement alternative.

To begin, dislocated NPs may reconstruct to positions lower down in the structure, which is possible only if their base-generated positons are different from their surface positions. As for instance, in (18), the quantificational NP *every boy* can c-command the pronoun *his* embedded inside the dislocated NP, generating the bound variable interpretation. HU patterns with languages like Norwegian, Russian in that the possessive and PP pronominals obviate from the closest c-commanding subject antecedent, explaining the unavailability of a co-referential reading between *her* and *Mary*.

18) ?[uskii-i/*j maa]-k, har laRkeko-i pataa hai ki Mary-j usko-k pasand nahii kartii hĩ
his/*her mother every boy know be that Mary her like not do be
'Every boy knows that Mary does not like his mother.'

Moreover, as depicted in (19), the left dislocated NP, which contains a reflexive, is out of the c-commanding domain of its antecedent. A Condition A violation should ensue, in direct contravention to the empirical fact. This implies that at LF, the left dislocated NP reconstructs to a position, where the subject antecedent can A-bind it.

19) [apne-i dost(ko)]-j, John-i kabhi bhi unko-j naa nahi bol saktaa
Self's friend, John never emph.them no not say can
'John can never say no to his friends.'

Similar evidence comes from (20) where the dislocated NP that includes an r-expression obligatorily reconstructs to its base generated position, where it is c-commanded by the pronoun, leading to a Condition C violation.

20) ??/*[John-ka-i ghar]-j, usne-i use-j barbaad kar diyaa
John's family, he it ruin do give
'John ruined his own family.'

Moreover, a construal account of left dislocated structures in HU would predict their insensitivity to islands (i.e. since no movement is involved, these constructions would be equally compatible with resumptive pronouns inside islands). Such a claim however does not find any empirical support, as illustrated by the following sentences.

21) *voh tasvir-i, Mary [yeh khabar ki Johnko vo-i pasand he], jaanti thii
That painting-i, Mary this fact that John it like be, know be
'Mary knows this fact that John likes that painting.'

[Complex Noun Phrase Constraint]

22) *voh tasvir-i, Mary ro rahii he kyuuki Johnne usko-i toR diyaa
That picture Mary cry prog be because John it broke give
'Mary is crying becuase John broke that painting.'

[Adjunct Constraint]

23) *voh tasvir-i, John [jo use-i banaayaa thaa] mar gayaa
That picture John who it painted be die go
'John who loved that picture died.'

[Subject Constraint]

Left dislocated structures also display weak crossover effects, as evidenced in the following sentence.

24) *voh laRkaa-i, uskii-i behanko lagtaa he ki Mary usko-i pyaar kartii hĩ
That boy, his sister seems be that Mary him love do be
'It seems to his (=John's) sister that Mary loves him.'

These and other facts clearly question the validity of a construal account for left dislocated structures in HU and evidence a movement alternative. However, before I go on to dissect an alternative proposal for these structures, it would be worthwhile to quickly scan through similar resumptive structures in other languages. The literature on resumptive structures (see Sells 1984, Aoun, Chourieri and Hornstein 2001, Boeckx 2001, to mention a few) identify two types of resumptive structures - i) true resumption, where the antecedent and the resumptive pronoun (a strong pronoun/clitic) are separated by an island and ii) apparent resumption, where the antecedent and the resumptive pronoun (a strong pronoun/clitic) are not separated by an island. Adopting the standard assumption that movement across an island is prohibited, Aoun et al. analyse true resumption in Lebanese Arabic/LA to be instances of base generation of the dislocated NP at the clause initial position, from where it binds a pronoun inside an island. As opposed to these structures are apparent resumptive structures that are derived by moving the antecedent (the dislocated NP) to its surface position. In LA, both strong pronouns and weak pronoun/clitics can function as resumptive pronouns (in both true and apparent resumptive contexts). (25) and (26) are representations of apparent and true resumption respectively. As a reflection of their different derivational histories, these resumptive structures also display different behaviour (with regard to scope and binding reconstruction, island-sensitivity etc), which I will not elaborate on here.

25) Apparent Resumption

antecedent-i ... copy-i[strong pronoun/epithet phrase]
antecedent-i ... [DP-lexical DP-i [D-weak pronoun]

26) True Resumption

antecedent-i ... [island strong pronoun/epithet phrase]
antecedent-i ... [island D-weak pronoun]

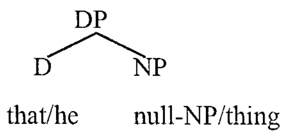
As is evident from the behaviour of HU left dislocated structures under consideration, these essentially can be grouped together with the apparent resumptive structures in LA - they too are sensitive to islands, allow reconstruction and show WCO effects, thus suggesting that the relation between the antecedent and the pronoun is not one of binding, rather one that is established via movement. HU dislocated NPs thus deserve the following representation in (27).

27) antecedent-i...copy-i [pronoun-I]

VI Resumptive Pronouns in HU

In this section, I discuss HU pronominals in more detail, before providing an alternative representation for left dislocation. Abney (1987) entertains the idea that pronouns and determiners share a common underlying structure. To be more precise, pronouns are treated as intransitive determiners (Ds) that take NP complements. As has been widely observed in the literature, determiners and pronouns very often share morphological forms. As for instance, *yeh* and *voh* are used as both demonstratives (*this* and *that* respectively as in *yeh/voh chiiz* or *this/that thing*) and third person pronouns (*he/she*). Dayal (1996) draws on these similarities and proposes that languages differ with respect to whether they have intransitive or transitive pronouns. HU third person pronominals, according to her, could be analysed as transitive Ds as they have the same form as the noun phrase determiners. She therefore posits the following structure for third person pronouns in HU (28). The pronoun *he* occupies the same position as the determiner, (however with a phonetically null NP as its complement)

28)



Recall from our discussion sometime earlier, HU left dislocated structures display characteristics of moved elements. This suggests that at some point in the derivation, the antecedent NP and the co-referring pronoun form a constituent. Assuming that pronouns in HU are indeed transitive in that they are allowed to take a complement, I conjecture that for left dislocated structures, the disclocated NP is base generated as complement to the pronoun, as depicted in (29). This structure is very similar to Dayal's, with one major amendment: the transitive pronoun in HU takes either a DP or an NP as its complement.

29) [DP2 [D pronoun [DP1 that thing]]]

This modification, however, comes with an obvious disadvantage. HU strong pronouns found in left dislocated structures (similar to strong 'apparent' pronouns in LA

left dislocated structures, as discussed in Aoun et al.) refrain from taking quantificational phrases as their antecedents (30).

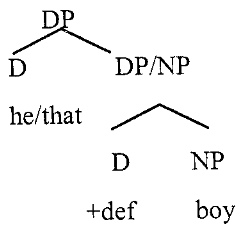
30) *harek laRkaa, mujhe lagtaa he ki vo ghar jaa rahaa hĩ
Each boy me-dat feel be that he house go prog. be
'It seems to me that each boy is heading home.'

Structures like (30) challenge our proposed structure in (29); the pronoun must in principle be able to take the quantificational DP as its complement at some derivational point, which later raises to a sentence initial position (leaving a copy behind in its base generated position). One point of clarification is however in order. As Dayal (1999) points out, HU bare nominals (NPs) are different from English bare nominals in admitting a definiteness reading (which as she points out, correlates well with the fact that HU does not have a lexical definite determiner). To clarify it further, consider the following sentence (31), where the habit of barking is attributed to the unique dog or to the unique maximal set of dogs in the context; i.e. the bare nominal may be interpreted as referring to a definite set of dogs.

31) kutte bhaunkte hĩ.
dogs bark be.
The dogs/dogs bark.

The definiteness reading of bare nominals can be translated as the presence of a +definite feature on the NP in HU; i.e it can be argued that NPs in this language are actually DPs with a null D (which is +def). Assuming that this is right, a structure like (32) may then be proposed for pronominals.

32)



I assume that the presence of the definiteness feature on the D head of the lower DP disallows a quantifier (which are essentially -definite) from appearing there. That explains the incompatibility of quantificational antecedents in left dislocated structures; quantifiers cannot base generate at D-0 positions that are +definite and are therefore barred from appearing in such constructions.

Before I end this section, let me then quickly chart out the underlying representation of the sentence with dislocated DP. Considering that our assumption about the complex DP is on the right track, the dislocated item starts from a DP internal position (i.e. the complement position of the pronominal) in the lower VP to finally land in the specifier of matrix CP/TopicP. The structure (33) displays this path.

33) [CP/TopP voh laRkaa-i [IP [vP mĩã jaantii hu [CPki [IP [vP [DP voh-i t-i]
That boy-i I know be that he

bahut acchhaa hĩ]]]]]].
very good be.

VII A Note on Derivation and Minimality

Adopting the standard assumption that movement proceeds in short steps, I assume, on lines proposed by Takahashi (1994), Boeckx (2001), that the dislocated DP targets every intermediate site on the way to its final destination; or more precisely, it adjoins to the maximal domain of each head on its path to its 'surface' position, which is a TopP/CP, hosting a discourse feature at the extreme left edge of the clause. I also consider, on the same lines as the above researchers, that movement to the intermediate steps is not driven by any feature checking motivation (such as EPP, as proposed by Chomsky 2001) but merely to abide by the shortest step condition on movement.

This claim however needs to be supported by ample empirical data, which is what I intend to do in this section. The evidence comes from minimality violations observed in left dislocated structures with co-existing scrambled items. We shall consider both short and long-distance scrambled DPs here, exposing some disparities in the interaction between left dislocated DPs and A and A-bar scrambled items. Let us start with some scrambled structures. (34) displays short/clause internal scrambling of the object *John* and (35), long-distance scrambling of the embedded object.

34) Johnko, ramne kal bahut maaraa
John-acc, Ram-erg yesterday much hit
'Ram hit John badly yesterday.'

35) Johnko, me jaanti hu ki Mary bahut caahtii hĩ.
John-acc, I Know be that Mary much love be
'I know that Mary loves John a lot.'

Now consider left dislocated and scrambled elements in the same structure. (36) shows that a short-distance scrambled DP is perfectly acceptable with a left dislocated DP.

36) voh laRkaa-i, Johnkoto voh-i maar Daalegaa
That boy John-top he kill give-fut.
'That boy is sure to kill John.'

Now consider the sentence in (37) where the object of the embedded clause has short-distance scrambled to an embedded position. This again allows plausible co-existence of left dislocated and scrambled DPs.

37) voh laRkaa-i mĩã jaantii hu ki Johnkoto voh-i bahut pyaar karegaa
That boy I know be that John he much love do-fut.
'I am sure that boy will love John..'

From (36)-(37), we may infer that left dislocation is compatible with all scrambled items. The scenario changes when we move over to long-distance scrambling sentences, such as (38) and (39). Left dislocation and scrambling are incompatible here.

38)*voh laRkaa-i, Johnko, me jaantii hu ki voh-i zarur maar Dalegaa
That boy John I know be that he definitely kill give
'I know that boy will definitely kill John.'

39)*voh laRkaa-i, John me jaantii hu ki usko-i zarur maar dalegaa
That boy John I know be that him definitely kill give
'I know that John will definitely kill that boy.'

In short, while left dislocation is compatible with short-distance scrambling, it is impossible to have it together with long-distance scrambling in the same sentence. What explains this difference? For an answer, let us look more closely at the properties of short and long-distance scrambling in the language. Consider the following sentences with just scrambled DPs as in (40)-(41).

40) *uski-i behan kisko-i pyaar kartii hĩ?
His sister who love do be?
Who does his sister love?

41) kisko-i uskii-i behan pyaar kartii hĩ?
Who his sister love do be?
Who does his sister love?

The sentence in (40) is ruled out as an instance of WCO violation. The variable is to the right of a co-indexed pronominal. As is evident from (41), scrambling of the object NP to the clause initial position obviates the WCO filter. It is by now a standard observation in the literature that only A-movement obviates WCO effects. Scrambling of the wh-phrase to the sentence initial position must therefore be an instance of A-movement (Mahajan 1990, though see Kidwai 2002 for an alternative analysis). The claim that clause internal scrambling is A-movement gets further empirical support from the following sentences (42)-(43).

42) *apne-i baccone Johnko-i gharse nikaal diyaa.
Self's children John-acc house from throw give.
Self's children threw John out of the house.

43) Johnko-i apne-i baccone gharse nikaal diyaa.
John-acc Self's children house from throw give.
Self's children threw John out of the house.

The structure in (42) is ruled out as a standard case of Condition A violation; the reflexive is not in the c-command domain of an appropriate antecedent. However, as (43) shows, with the scrambling of the accusative object to the sentence initial position, the sentence becomes acceptable. The acceptability of the sentence can only be explained if we assume that the object has moved to an A position from where it can c-command the reflexive, thus saving the derivation from a crash. An A-movement

account for short-distance scrambled elements provides us with a possible explanation for left dislocation's compatibility with short scrambling. Short distance scrambled elements A-move. The A-bar movement of the dislocated DP over the scrambled element (located at an A position) therefore does not result in minimality violation. On the other hand, long distance scrambling has the typical properties of A-bar movement (see Mahajan) and, therefore minimality violation resulting from the movement of the dislocated DP over a long-distance scrambled element brings out the expected results. Long-distance scrambling neither obviates WCO effects nor binding theory violations, as illustrated in the following examples (44)-(45).

(44) *kisko-i uskii-i behan soctii he ki John pyaar kartii hī?
Who his sister thinks be that John love do be?
'Who does his sister think that John loves?'

(45) *Johnko-i apne-i baccone socaa maryne gharse nikaal diyaa
John-acc Self's children thought Mary house from throw give
'Self's children threw John out of the house.'

Since these items are placed at A-bar positions, they block the A-bar movement of left dislocated items. A-located scrambled DPs don't. We take these facts to indicate that left dislocation in Hindi-Urdu involves movement. Moreover, the movement takes place in successive-cyclic steps, which are blocked only by intervening A-bar scrambled DPs.

VIII Conclusion

I started off by reviewing Dwivedi's (1994) base generated account for HU left dislocated structures. Contrary to what Dwivedi claims, dislocated DPs show reconstruction and WCO effects and are not immune to islands etc. In a nutshell, they display all those properties that only a movement account can explain. I take these evidence to argue that dislocated DPs base generate as the complements of pronominal heads and undergo movement to the clause initial position (i.e. its surface position) at some point in the derivation. I then go on to examine the interaction of left dislocation in HU with other A/A-bar dependencies like scrambling. It is observed that while left dislocation is compatible with short-distance scrambling, it fails to co-occur with long-distance scrambled DPs. This disparity is explained once we look at the properties of these two types of scrambling more closely; while short-distance scrambling involves A-movement, long-distance scrambling is unambiguously A-bar movement. Since left dislocation targets A-bar sites (like the specifier of a TopicP or CP), it can be barred only by other A-bar items. I take this as further evidence for the movement account, and as also substantiating a successive-cyclic movement analysis for these structures.

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The Co-eventual Verb in Hindi

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1. Introduction

Based on the inventory of V1-V2 constructions in Hook (1974), at least three classes of V1-V2 constructions can be identified in Hindi. These are:

I Compound Verb, where the V2 is a semantically light verb as in (1):

1. kabhii kabhii wo bhay see *kaanp uThtii* aur pachtaatii
   occasionally she fear with tremble-stand-hab and regret-hab
   'Occasionally she would start trembling and would feel repentant.'

II Reversed Compound Verb, where the V1 is a semantically light verb:

2. bail dau Raa aayaa aur siing maarkar diiwaal *dee giraayii*
   bull run come-past and horn hit-part wall give cause-to-fall-past
   'The bull came charging up and knocked the wall down with his horns.'

III Co-eventual Verb, where neither V1 nor V2 is a semantically light verb:

3. eek kSaN kee baad bhuukh nee eek duusrii yuktii *sooc nikaalii*
   one moment later hunger-CM a second solution think bring out
   'In an instant, hunger suggested another way out.'

In (1-3) above, the italicized constituent in each of the examples is a multi-verb composite differing in the relative semantic load of the two constituents. In the first, *kaanp uThtii*, (literally, tremble-stand-habitual), the V1 *kaanp* is a full verb in the sense that the semantics of the composite event derives primarily from V1 both in terms of its argument structure and the event structure. The V2, *uThtii*, only modifies the event semantics by adding a certain aspectual/manner element, abruptness, to the semantics of the main event *kaanp*. The V2 in (1) is, therefore, properly speaking a light verb, bleached of its event semantic properties through grammaticalisation, a process which has been dealt with in detail by several commentators (Hook, 1991; 1993, Butt, 2003). The V1-V2 composite in (2), *dee giraayii*, (literally give-cause-to-fall) involves a reversal in terms of the semantic load carried by V1 and V2. Contrary to (1), it is the V2, *giraayii* which carries the main event semantic load here, both in terms of argument structure and event structure. The V1 *dee* in this case only serves to modify the event structure of *giraayii* very subtly, and may therefore be claimed to be the grammaticalised light verb in this case. In (3), both V1 *sooc* and V2 *nikaalii* contribute equally to the semantics of the event; neither is a grammaticalised or light verb.

The three classes exemplified above indicate differentiations within the so called compound verb construction which have not received adequate attention in the relevant literature. In this paper we propose that the multi-verb construction belonging to the class III above is not a compound verb as commonly understood. Referred to here as the co-eventual verb, the V1-V2 sequence of class III is claimed to be a semantically distinct class of multi-verb composites. We argue that the conflation of this class with compound verbs is due to the fact that compound verbs are distinguished from other multi-verb classes on the basis of purely formal criteria, and that the formal criteria proposed in the literature do not adequately distinguish the co-eventual verb from rest of the compound verbs (section 2). We examine the co-eventual verb, bringing out some of the finer grained event structure properties that individuate this class of multi-verb composites (section 3). Some further dissociations and similarities between the co-eventual verb and compound verb are highlighted in sections 4 and 5 respectively.

2. Co-eventual verb on syntactic criteria

Several formal criteria have been proposed in the literature to distinguish compound verbs as a class from other multi-verb constructions. Butt and Ramchand (2003) posit monoclausality as a criterion to distinguish compound verbs from other multi-verb sequences. They propose the following diagnostics to establish the monoclausality of compound verbs:

a. Object-agreement

b. Control

c. Anaphora

Whereas compound verbs of classes I and II identified in section 1 are positive on all these three tests of monoclausality, it turns out that the co-eventual verb, just like rest of the compound verbs, is also positive on all the three tests. In what follows we consider the three tests one by one.

a. Object agreement

The regular compound verb in which the V1 is a full verb followed by a light verb V2 (Class I in section 1 above) shows object agreement as in 4:

4a. raajaa nee eek sheer <u>maar Daalaa</u>
king erg one lion kill pour-sg
'The king killed a lion.'

b. raajaa nee kaii sheer <u>maar Daalee</u>
king erg many lion-pl kill pour-pl
'The king killed many lions.'

The reversed compound verb (Class II) also shows object agreement as in:

5a. daakuon nee eek basti dee ujaaDii
robbers erg one locality give destroy-sg
'Robbers destroyed a locality.'

b. daakuon nee kaii bastiyaan dee ujaaDiin
robbers erg many locality-pl give destroy-pl
'Robbers destroyed many localities.'

The co-eventual verb (Class III) also shows object agreement as exemplified below:

6a. raajaa nee eek sheer <u>maar giraayaa</u>
king erg one lion kill cause-to-fall-sg
'The king knocked down a lion.'

b. raajaa nee kaii sheer <u>maar giraayee</u>
king erg many lion-pl kill cause-to-fall-pl
'The king knocked down several lions.'

This syntactic behaviour differs from multi-verb construction in (7) in that the latter fails this test (based on Butt and Ramchand, 2003):

7a. raajaa nee sainik see eek sheer <u>maarnee koo kahaa</u>
king erg soldier acc one lion kill-nom acc say
'The king asked the soldier to kill a lion.'

b. raajaa nee sainik see kaii sheer <u>maarnee koo kahaa</u>
king erg soldier acc many lion-pl kill-nom acc say
'The king asked the soldier to kill many lions.'

The multi-verb construction *maarne ko kaha*, consisting of the verbs *maar* and *keh* does not show object agreement, and can, therefore, be assumed to be biclausal.

b. Control

Turning to the Control test, the monoclausal multi-verb construction is a non-control construction in contrast to a biclausal control construction.

Simple verb:

8. raam nee moohan koo subah uThtee hii ciTThi <u>likhi</u>
ram erg mohan acc morning wake-up-part letter write-past
'As soon as Ram woke up in the morning, he wrote a letter to Mohan.'

Compound verb:

9. raam nee moohan koo subah uThtee hii ciTThi <u>likh dii</u>
ram erg mohan acc morning wake-up-part letter write give-past
'As soon as Ram woke up in the morning, he wrote a letter to Mohan.'

Co-eventual verb:

10. raam nee moohan koo subah uThtee hii ciTThi <u>likh bhejii</u>
ram erg mohan acc morning wake-up-part letter write send-past
'As soon as Ram woke up in the morning, he wrote and sent a letter to Mohan.'

The example (8) above contains a monoclausal construction with a simple verb. The construction is a non-control structure with no implicit arguments. (9) contains a compound verb (class I) *likh dii* whereas (10) has the co-eventual verb *likh bhejii*. Neither of these constructions displays any control property and can be claimed to be monoclausal thus contrasting with a truly biclausal (11) given below which demonstrates a control property in the sense that the implicit argument of *likhna* takes *moohan* in the matrix clause as its antecendent.[1]

11. raam nee moohan koo subah uThtee hii ciTThi <u>likhnee ko kahaa</u>
ram erg mohan acc morning wake-up-part letter write-nom-acc say-past
'As soon as Ram woke up in the morning, he asked Mohan to write a letter.'
Or
'Ram asked Mohan to write a letter as soon as he (Mohan) woke up in the morning'

c. Anaphora

The anaphora test yields similar results, clubbing the compound and co-eventual verb together with a simple verb in the monoclausal category.

12. raam nee sampaadak koo apnaa sujhaav <u>likhaa</u>
ram erg editor-acc self suggestion write-past
'Ram wrote his suggestion to the editor.'

13. raam nee sampaadak koo apnaa sujhaav <u>likh diyaa</u>
ram erg editor-acc self suggestion write give-past
'Ram wrote his suggestion to the editor.'

14. raam nee sampaadak koo apnaa sujhaav <u>likh bheejaa</u>
ram erg editor-acc self suggestion write send-past
'Ram wrote and sent his suggestion to the editor.'

The possessive anaphor *apnaa* in each of the instances above picks up a unique antecedent. In a truly biclausal construction, on the other hand, the anaphor is typically ambiguous:

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[1] It may be noted that the clausal adjunct "subah uThtee hii" in (8-11) also has an implicit argument. The clausal adjunct has been analysed as a control structure in some approaches. But this fact is not of relevance to the present discussion on the internal structure of the matrix clause.

15. raam nee sampaadak koo apnaa sujhaav likhnee koo kahaa
ram erg editor-acc self suggestion write-nom-acc say-past
'Ram asked the editor to write his (Ram's) suggestion.'
Or
'Ram asked the editor to write his (the editor's) suggestion.'

The possessive anaphor *apna* in (15) can pick up either *raam* or *sampaadak* as its antecedent.

In addition to monoclausality, criteria such as passivisation and nominalization are discussed in the relevant literature as characteristics that distinguish compound verbs from other multi-verb sequences. We see below that they apply as much to the co-eventual verb as the compound verb.

Passivization: The sum of V1 and V2 is participialised and V2 bears passive morphology. The compound verb and the co-eventual verb have syntactically identical passive forms.

16a. miThaaii khaa lii gayii
sweet eat take passive-past
'The sweet was eaten.'

b. yuktii khooj nikaalii gayii
solution search bring out passive-past
'The solution was searched out.'

Nominalization: The sum of V1 and V2 is nominalized and V2 bears nominal morphology. The compound verb and the co-eventual verb have syntactically identical nominalized forms:

17a. aajaa kaa sheer koo maar daalnaa nishcit hai
king poss lion acc kill pour-nom certain be-pres
'The king's killing of the lion is certain.'

b. raajaa kaa sheer koo maar giraanaa nishcit hai
king poss lion acc kill cause-to-fall-nom certain be-pres
'The king's knocking down of the lion is certain.'

3. Semantics of the co-eventual verb

All the syntactic evidence discussed in section 2 goes to show that both compound verb and co-eventual verbs are monoclausal composites. However, it discounts the fact that the two constructions are fundamentally different from each other. The essential difference between the two, as has already been stated in section 1, involves the light verb properties of the V2 in the compound verb as against the

semantically fuller properties of the V2 in the co-eventual verb[2]. In this section, we examine the larger consequences of this basic difference between the co-eventual verb and the compound verb.

The V2 in a compound verb is a light verb which is a grammaticalised or semantically bleached form of a regular verb in the language. It follows from here that the contribution that V2 makes to the semantics of the composite has little to do with its own semantics as a full verb. As is well known, the contribution is invariably limited to a specification of the event structure properties of the main verb. The precise nature of the event structure modification may vary across light verbs as we shall see below.

Consider the verb *nikal* 'leave' which forms a compound verb with the light verbs (LV) such as *jaa* (with a corresponding full verb *jaa* 'go') and *paD* (with a corresponding full verb *paD* 'fall'). The verb *nikal* is by itself, underspecified with respect to the aspectual properties, which are determined by the LV it combines with.

18a. raam har din saat bajee kaam par nikal jaataa hai
Ram daily seven o'clock work on leave go be-pres
'Ram leaves for work at seven o'clock every day.'

b. raam har din saat bajee kaam par nikal paRhtaa hai
Ram daily seven o'clock work on leave fall be-pres
'Ram leaves for work at seven o'clock every day.'

The compound verbs *nikal jaa* and *nikal paD* above represent event structure variations that have to do with the aspectual classes of completive and inceptive respectively.

Aspectual modifications are a regular feature of V1-V2 compounds, observed also for other LVs such as *daal* 'pour' and *uTh* 'stand':

19a. sabki ki baat sunkar raam nee bhi apnii baat keh daalii
everyone's opinion hear-part Ram emph self opinion say pour-past
'Having heard everyone else, Ram spoke his mind.'

b. sabki ki baat sunkar raam bhi apnii baat keh uThaa
everyone's opinion hear-part Ram emph self''s opinión say stand-past
'Having heard everyone else, Ram spoke his mind.'

In (19a-b), *keh daalii* and *keh uThaa* express completive and inceptive aspectual structures respectively.

Turning to the phenomenon of light verb properties of the class of compound verbs, it may be noted that the extent of semantic dilution in light verbs is not invariant. Rather some light verbs appear to carry some of the semantics of their heavy verb counterpart while others appear to undergo a complete semantic shift. The heavy verb

[2] The V1-V2 sequence Class II of the reversed compound verb (section 1) is being clubbed with the regular compound verb for the purposes of the present discussion because at least one of the verbs in this multi-verb sequence does have light verb properties.

form of *daal* 'pour' for example is a binary motion verb with a processive event structure. On the other hand, the light verb form reflects a completive aspect for the main verb as evinced in the data above (19a). $daal_{LV}$ has none of the motion connotation that is the defining element in $daal_{HV}$. However, complete loss of heavy verb semantics does not appear to be the case with certain light verbs such as *uThaa*, 'stand-up' in (21b) above. In its heavy verb form, *uThaa* has an incipient nature characterized by suddenness of the motion. In the LV version, the motion implicature is completely lost, and the abruptness at the start gives it an inceptive aktionsart. Indeed, it captures a more fine-grained abruptness than can be captured by the aktionsart alone – here the abruptness parameter is retained in a somewhat heightened form, and is a default. Thus, one can have *dhire se* $uThaa_{HV}$ (stood up slowly), but not *dhiire se gA* $uThaa_{LV}$ (slowly started singing), showing that the MANNER parameter is imposed by the light verb on the main verb or the V1.

In summary, the main function of light verbs participating in V1-V2 compound verbs appears to be the modification of event structure, including, but possibly going beyond, aspectual properties. Some character of its event dynamics may be derivable from the full verb, as in the case of *uThaa* (19b) above but this is a small part of its full semantic repertory and hence the term dilution is appropriate for this class of light verbs. On the other hand in other instances (as in $daal_{LV}$ in 19a) the process involves more of a shift than dilution. In most such light verbs participating in V1-V2 compounds, the residual meaning is very light indeed, confined to a manner modification.

Based on the discussion above, it appears plausible to conclude that the light verb dilution in the case of compound verbs is not uniforms across verbs. Rather, the bleaching may range from a lesser to greater extent of dilution sometimes ending in a complete shift.

Turning to the co-eventual verb, this class of V1-V2 constructions has a V2 which makes a substantive contribution to the semantics of the verbal composite. Indeed it may not be appropriate to designate the V2 in this case as light verb.

The V2 of a co-eventual verb can refer to an action or state on its own as in (20)

20. raajaa nee sheer koo maar giraayaa
    king erg lion acc kill/hit cause-to-all-past
    'The king shot the lion down.' Or 'The king knocked the lion down.'

Both the participating verbs in (20) contribute to the composite semantic import of *maar giraayaa*: the events *maar* and *giraa* are both present in the composite event.

Thus, whereas in a compound verb, the V2 represents a light verb with varying degrees of semantic dilution ranging from some dilution (18a-b) to a complete semantic shift (19a), the co-eventual verb is a composite of two semantically heavy verbs, both contributing to the semantics of the event.

Turning to the issue of the sub-event structure of the co-eventual verb, in these V1-V2 sequences, the event denoted by V2 stands in a particular relation to a V1 event. This relation may be more than one kind. Some of the semantic relations obtaining between the V1 and V2 in a co-eventual verb are discussed below.

a. Cause

The majority of causatives in Hindi do not specify the causing event. Examples of such causatives are: giraanaa (drop), bhagaanaa (chase), nikaalnaa (extract) as in

21a. bandar nee topi giraayi
monkey erg cap cause-to-fall-past
'The monkey dropped the cap.'

b. kutte nee billi koo bhagayaa
dog erg cat acc cause-to-run-past
'The dog chased the cat.'

c. raam nee phal see ras nikaalaa
Ram erg fruit abl juice cause-to-bring-out-past
'Ram extracted juice from the fruit.'

In each of the cases in (21), we are dealing with a caused event with no explicit causing event.

The co-eventual verb is one of the ways in which the causing event of such causative verbs is explicitly specified.

22a. shikaari nee sher koo maar giraaya
hunter erg lion acc kill/hit cause-to-fall-past
'The hunter caused the lion to fall by killing it.'

b. maalii nee bandar koo maar bhagaayaa
gardener erg monkey acc hit chase-past
'The gardener chased away the monkey by beating it.'

c. raajaa nee yuktii sooch nikaalii
king erg solution think extract-past
'The king extracted a solution by thinking it up.'

In each of the co-eventual verb examples above, the V1 represents the causing event whereas the caused event is represented by the V2.

b. Manner

In many of the co-eventual verbs, the V1 event is the manner event for the V2 event. In (23a) for example, the V1 event *bhaag* reflects the manner of execution of the V2 event *niklaa*. Similarly in (23b), the manner of the motion event *nikla* is *bah*.

23a. coor jeel see bhaag niklaa
thief prison abl run leave-past
'The thief ran out of the prison.'

b. paanii bah niklaa
water flow leave-past
'The water flowed out.'

c. Precursion

The V1 event may be the precursor to the V2 event as in (24a-b):

24a. coor jeel see nikal bhaagaa
thief prison abl leave run-past
'The thief ran out of the prison.'

b. raakeesh nee ciTThii likh bheejii
Rakesh erg letter write send-past
'Rakesh wrote and sent the letter.'

d. Concurrent result

A V2 event caused by a V1 event overlaps with it to some extent:

25. siitaa nee geend uchaal pheenkii
Sita erg ball toss-up throw-past
'Sita tossed the ball up and away.'

The event of throwing the ball in (25) has a considerable overlap with the event of tossing it up.

The relations discussed above are at best an indicative set and do not by any means exhaust the set of possible relations between V1 and V2 in co-eventual constructions. Further empirical investigation may point to additional layers of semantic interplay between V1 and V2 in co-eventual verbs. The term co-eventual verb used here to designate the class underlines the complexity of the relationship between V1 and V2 in these composites.

4. Dissociation between compound verb and co-eventual verb

The compound verb and the co-eventual verb show dissociation on several parameters. Some of these are:

a. Argument structure

b. Causal modification

c. Distribution of negation

a. Argument structure

The V1 and V2 constituents of a compound verb can have different argument structure whereas the constituents of a co-eventual verb necessarily have the same argument structure. This follows from the fact that one of the constituents of the compound verb is bleached into a light verb, whereas both the constituents of the co-eventual verb carry full semantic load. This necessitates equivalence in terms of the argument structure in the latter case whereas the former need not be constrained by argument structure equivalence. Consider the data below:

26a. coor <u>nikal liyaa</u>
thief leave take-past
'The thief took off.'

b. laRkaa kuchch keh uthaa
boy something say stand-past
'The boy said something.'

The compound verb *nikal liya* in (26a) consists of the verbs *nikal* 'leave' and *le* 'take'. The two verbs are unary and ternary respectively. Similarly, the compound verb *keh utha* in (26b) consists of the verbs *keh* 'say' and *uth* 'stand' again having different arities. However the argument structure mismatch does not come in the way of compound verb formation in this case.

The co-eventual verb, on the other hand, shows an equivalence of argument structure between V1 and V2 in (27a-c) below:

27a. paanii bah niklaa
water flow left-past
'Water flowed out.'

b. maalii nee bandar koo <u>maar bhagaayaa</u>
gardener erg monkey acc hit chase-past
'The gardener chased away the monkey by beating it.'

c. 'raajaa nee yuktii <u>sooch nikaalii</u>
king erg solution think extract-past
'The king extracted a solution by thinking it up.'

Argument structure equivalence between V1 and V2 need not constrain the compound verb since the semantics of the V2 is anyway not relevant: V2 is a semantically bleached verb. Such equivalence is however crucial to co-eventual verb composites as both the verbs participate fully in executing the semantics of the event and any argument structure mismatch is bound to lead to anomalous results.

Equivalence of argument structure appears to provide a strong selectional criterion by which V1 and V2 constrain each other in co-eventual verbs. This is also likely to be the explanation for the low productivity of the class of co-eventual verbs compared to both compound verbs and other verb-verb sequences like V1-kar V2.

b. Causal modification

Yet another striking difference between the compound verb and the co-eventual verb involves causal modification which gives different results with the two kinds of V1-V2 sequences. As is well known, Hindi has a morphological causative whereby causative morphology inflects the main verb. In both compound and co-eventual verbs, the sum of V1 and V2 is causativized. However, in compound verbs, it is invariably the V1 that bears the causative morphology:

28a.	siitaa	nee	saaraa	ghar	dhoo daalaa
	Sita	erg	entire	house	wash throw-past

'Sita washed the entire house.'

b.	siitaa	nee	saaraa	ghar	dhulwaa	daalaa
	Sita	erg	entire	house	wash-causative	throw-past

'Sita had the entire house washed.'

c.	*siitaa nee	saaraa ghar	dhul dalvaayaa
	Sita erg	entire house	wash throw-causative-past

Example (28c), in which the light verb *daal* bears the causative morphology is clearly ill-formed.

In the co-eventual verb, on the other hand, the choice is constrained by the semantic relation obtaining between V1 and V2. Thus in co-eventual verbs with a cause relation between V1 and V2, as in examples (22a-c) discussed earlier, the modification takes place on the caused event (V2) rather than the causing one (V1):

29a.	shikaari	nee	sher	koo	maar	giraaya
	hunter	erg	lion	acc	kill/hit	cause-to-fall-past

'The hunter caused the lion to fall by killing it.'

b.	*shikaari	nee	sher	koo	marwaa	giraayaa
	hunter	erg	lion	acc	kill/hit-causative	cause-to-fall-past

c.	shikaari	nee	sher	koo	maar	girvaayaa
	hunter	erg	lion	acc	kill/hit	cause-to-fall-causative-past

'The hunter had the lion knocked down.'

In co-eventual verbs with V1 as the manner event for the V2, as in (23a-b) discussed earlier, the V1 event *bhaag* reflects the manner of execution of the V2 event *niklaa*, it is the V2 which undergoes cauasative modification.

30a. coor jeel see bhaag niklaa
thief prison erg run leave-past
'The thief ran out of the prison.'

b. jailar nee coor koo jeel see bhaag nikalvaayaa
jailor erg thief acc prison erg run leave-causative-past
'The jailor caused the thief to escape from the prison.'

c. *jailar nee coor koo jeel see bhagaa nikaalaa
jailor erg thief acc prison abl run-causative leave-causative-past

In coeventual verbs where the V1 event is the precursor to the V2 event as in (24a-b), either V1 or V2 may undergo causative modification:

31a. raakeesh nee ciTThii likh bheejii
Rakesh erg letter write send-past
'Rakesh wrote and sent the letter.'

b. raakeesh nee ciTThii likhvaa bheejii
Rakesh erg letter write-causative send-past
'Rakesh had the letter written and sent.'

b. raakeesh nee ciTThii likh bhijvaaii
Rakesh erg letter write send-causative-past
'Rakesh had the letter written and sent.'

Finally, in co-eventual verbs with a concurrent result (25), the causative modification is on the caused event:

32a. siitaa nee geend uchaal pheenkii
Sita erg ball toss-up throw-past
'Sita tossed the ball up and away.'

b. siitaa nee geend uchaal phikvaaii
Sita erg ball toss-up throw-cause-past
'Sita had the ball tossed up and thrown away.'

The causative modification in compound verbs and co-eventual verbs is directly related to the issue of the distribution of semantic load within the complex verb sequence. Where the V2 is semantically no more than an aspectual modifier, the causative modification is taken on by V1. However, since the semantic load is more or less evenly distributed in the co-eventual verb, the causative modification shows a similar pattern.

c. Distribution of negation

The compound verb disallows negation (Hook, 1974; Hook, 1991). Consider the following examples which show that compound verbs do not admit of negation:

33a. raam kaam par nikal paDaa
Ram work on leave fall-past
'Ram left for work.'

b. *raam kaam par nahin nikal paDaa
Ram work on not leave fall-past
'Ram did not leave for work.'

c. *raam kaam par nikal nahin paDaa
Ram work on leave not fall-past
'Ram did not leave for work.'

However, negation is possible in compound verbs co-occurring with conditionals, as in (34) where it has a positive implicature (Raina, 2005a):

34. jabtak voh kaam par nahin nikal paDtaa use chain nahin aataa
as long as he work on not leave fall-pres-hab him ease not come-pres-hab
'As long as he doesn't leave for work, he is not at ease.'

Negation is also possible in the context of inclusive and exclusive emphatics (*hii, to*) as in:

35 a. usne kitaab paDh to nahin Daali keeval khariid kar rakh
he-erg book read emph not throw-past only buy do keep

dii hai
give be-pres

'He has not read the book he has only bought and kept it.'

b. usne kitaab keeval khariid hii nahin Daali, paDh bhii lii
he-erg book only buy emph not throw-past read emph give-past
'Not only did he buy the book, he read it too.'

Thus in case the compound verb construction is modified by a conditional or is marked by emphasis, negation is allowed.

How do co-eventual verbs behave on the parameter polarity sensitivity? (36a-f) below are negations of the co-eventual structures discussed earlier. The data suggest that the co-eventual verb constructions are more or less tolerant of negation:

36 a. maalii nee bandar koo nahiin maar bhagaayaa

b. raajaa nee yuktii nahiin sooc nikaalii

c. ?coor jeel see nahiin bhaag niklaa

d. ?coor jeel see nahiin nikal bhaagaa

e. raakeesh nee ciTThii nahiin likh bheejii

f. ?siitaa nee geend nahiin uchaal pheenkii

The question marks in the data set above indicate differences of degrees of acceptability across users. Apart from individual variations in acceptability judgments, some users also indicated scopal differences in the interpretation of the negation operator *nahiin* in these sentences. Users also reported variation in acceptability judgements if the operator *nahiin* was placed between the V1 and the V2. Further, the placement of the negation operator also appeared to have a bearing on its scope. It is possible that these user judgements also hold the key to the larger question of why compound verbs and co-eventual verbs differ with respect to the negative polarity effects. Taken as a whole, the issue involves layers of complexity beyond the scope of the present paper.[3]

5. Shared event structure properties

Despite the semantic differences between the compound verb and the co-eventual verb presented in section 4, it would be important not to overlook certain commonalities they exhibit with respect to event structure properties. This issue will be explored in the present section.

Macro-event property

The co-eventual verb construction, like the compound verb and the single verb constructions, and unlike many multi-verb constructions, has the macro-event property in the sense of Bohnemeyer (2007). A construction denoting a complex event has the macro-event property (MEP) if any temporal operator quantifying over a particular sub-event necessarily quantifies over the entire complex event (Bohnemeyer, 2007). The temporal operators under reference here may be denoted by a temporal adverbial, a temporal adjunct, or tense.

A multi-event construction such as V1-kar-V2 in Hindi does not have the macro-event property as the following examples with temporal adjunction show:

37a. laRkaa daanT khaakar paRhnee baiThaa
boy rebuke receive-part study-nom sit-past
'Having received a scolding, the boy began to study.'

b. laRkaa subah daanT khaakar paRhnee baiThaa
boy morning rebuke receive-part study-nom sit-past
'Having received a scolding, the boy began to study in the morning.'

[3]The question may even have some implications at the discourse semantic level, as the polarity effects do seem to interact closely with the semantics of conditionals and emphatics as seen earlier in the case of compound verbs. To resolve some of these issues, an independent study of the polarity effects is needed.

c. laRkaa subah daanT khaakar shaam koo paRhnee baiThaa
boy morning rebuke receive-part evening acc study-nom sit-past
'Having received a scolding in the morning, the boy began to study in the evening.'

In (37b), the temporal operator *subah* has scope over both the sub-events in the construction. However, (37c) shows that the temporal operator need not have scope over both the sub-events in the construction. On the contrary, each sub-event can be individuated through a temporal operator specific to it. It is in this sense that the V1-kar-V2 construction does not have the macro-event property.

In contrast, a co-eventual construction shows the macro-event property :

38a. shikaari nee sher koo maar giraaya
hunter erg lion acc kill/hit cause-to-fall-past
'The hunter shot the lion down.'

b. shikaari nee sheer ko subah maar giraayaa
hunter erg lion acc morning kill/hit cause-to-fall-past
'The hunter shot the lion down in the morning.'

c. *shikaari nee subah sheer koo maar shaam koo giraayaa
hunter erg morning lion acc kill/hit evening acc cause-to-fall-past
'?The hunter shot the lion in the morning causing it to fall in the evening.'

The temporal operator *subah* has scope over the whole complex event *maar giraayaa,* as the well-formed (38b) indicates and not over its sub-events, as the ill-formedness of (38c) would indicate.

The multi-verb sequence of compound verb shows similar behaviour with respect to temporal operators:

39a. raam nee apnii baat keh daali
ram erg self opinion say pour-past
'Ram expressed his view.'

b. raam nee apnii baat subah keh daali
ram erg self opinion morning say pour-past
'Ram expressed his view in the morning.'

c.*raam nee apnii baat subah keh shaam daalii
ram erg self opinion morning say evening pour-past

If the macro-event property reflects the degree of tightness of packaging of a multi-verb expression, then it is fair to say that the sub-events of a co-eventual verb are as tightly packaged as those of the compound verb. However, this discussion should not lead us to conclude that co-eventual verb and compound verb form a semantic class distinct from the V1-kar-V2 sequence on the parameter of the macro-event property. The difference may only be one of degree rather than kind. This claim receives support from the fact that even among V1-kar-V2 sequences, not all of them show the same

degree of tightness of packaging. In the data given below, we consider three kinds of V1-kar-V2 expressions differing in their semantic import.

40a. laRkaa daanT khaakar paRhnee baiThaa
boy scolding receive-part study-nom sit-past
'Having received a scolding, the boy began to study.'

b. raam khaanaa khaakar ghar see niklaa
ram meal eat-part house abl leave-past
'Ram went out after having his meal.'

c. siitaa nee gaakar kahaanii sunaayii
Sita erg sing-part story tell-past
Sita told the story in song.'

d. siitaa nee gaakar man acca kiya
Sita erg sing-part heart good do-past
'Sita comforted herself by singing.'

(40a-d) exemplify V1-kar-V2 sequences expressing different semantic relations between the two verbs in the sequence. (47a) captures onset causation in the sense that V1 triggers the onset of V2. (47b) expresses temporal succession in the sense that V2 temporally succeeds V1. In (47c), V1 expresses the manner of V2. In (47d) V1-kar-V2 expresses extended causation in the sense that V1 causes V2. All the four semantic subclasses of V1-kar-V2 multi-verb sequence exhibit different degrees of tightness of packaging and hence the macro-event property. This can be seen in the data given below:

41a. laRkaa subah daanT khaakar shaam koo paRhnee baiThaa
boy morning scolding receive-part evening acc study-nom sit-past
'Having received a scolding in the morning, the boy began to study in the evening.'

b. ?raam subah khaanaa khaakar shaam koo ghar see nikalaa
ram morning meal eat-part evening acc house abl leave-past
'Having had his meal in the morning, Ram went out in the evening.'

c. *siitaa nee subah gaakar shaam koo kahaanii sunaayii
sita erg morning sing-part evening acc story tell-past
'Sita related the story in the morning by singing during the evening.'

d. *siitaa nee subah gaakar shaam koo man acca kiyaa
sita erg morning sing-part evening acc heart good do-past
'Sita made herself feel better in the morning by singing during the evening.'

Of the four semantic sub-classes of "V1-kar V2" expressions under consideration here, the manner and extended causation sub-classes appear to have the MEP, as indicated by the ill-formedness of (41c-d), whereas onset causation and temporal sequence appear to be less tightly packaged.

On the basis of the discussion above we can conclude that as far as the individuation of sub-events by temporal operators is concerned, the co-eventual verb behaves like the compound verb in the sense that both exhibit tightness of packaging. However, it is also clear that the macro-event property is not something exclusive to the co-eventual and compound verb sequences. It also extends to other multi-verb sequences such as V1-kar-V2 in varying degrees.

6. Conclusion

The paper delineated a semantic sub-class of the V1-V2 construction which we call the co-eventual verb. We showed that the formal criteria proposed in literature fail to bring out the distinction between the co-eventual verb and another sub-class of the V1-V2 construction, the compound verb. We presented an analysis of co-eventual verb, highlighting some of its event semantic properties. Further, argument structure, causal modification and distribution o negation were claimed as points of dissociation between compound verbs and co-eventual verbs. The two classes were shown to share the macro-event property with respect to their sub-event structure. However, it was shown that tightness of sub-event packaging is not something exclusive to these semantic classes but is shared across a larger class of multi-verb sequences.

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Motion verbs in Hindi

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Motion verbs in Hindi have been analyzed by Bhuvana Narasimhan (2003) in order to determine the position of Hindi in the typological dichotomy characterized by Talmy (1985; 1991) as satellite-framed versus verb-framed languages. The dichotomy proposed by Talmy describes two ideal polar types: in first - *verb framed* languages - a manner of motion verb cannot be combined with path/location expressions in a minimal clause: the main predicate usually expresses path/location while causal/manner meanings are expressed separately as an adjunct. In *satellite-framed* languages the path is lexicalized in a set of closed class morphemes called 'satellites'. The satellite is defined as "the grammatical category of any constituent other than a nominal complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root". The range of satellites is wide, including Latin and Russian verb prefixes, English verb-particles, separable and inseparable German verb prefixes, light verbs etc. The first – *verb framed* type is represented by Finno-Ugric, Chinese, most Indo-European languages minus Romance, the second – by Romance languages.

Bhuvana Narasimhan (2003) has classified Hindi as a 'verb-framed language' opposed to 'satellite-framed' English. She argued that in Hindi the information of the path and the information of the manner of movement are expressed separately (1). Typical for English predicates (2) combining the information concerning the path and the manner of movement are not possible in Hindi (3).

(1) *raamuu langRaate hue kamre meã aayaa /kamre se niklaa*
Ramu hobbling room in come-Pst/room off emerge-Pst
'The boy entered the room/emerged from the room hobbling'

(2) *Sydney hobbled in/out (of the room)*

(3) * *raamuu kamre meã langRaayaa*
Ramu roomin hobble-Pst
'Ramu hobbled into the room'

The aim of this paper is to revise the position of Hindi in Talmy's typological dichotomy. The data analyzed here were obtained from dictionaries, prose texts from various genres and informants. The main focus was on the work with texts and informants because in many cases the words mentioned in the dictionaries are rarely used and sometimes are not comprehended by native speakers of Hindi.

The following main features of motion event description in Hindi will be discussed below: 1) the usage of manner verbs in telic path phrases; 2) lexical resources; 3) salience of manner of movement; 4) The way of describing 'complex path'.

I. Manner verbs in telic path phrases

According to Talmy's definition Hindi belongs to satellite framed languages as it allows combination of path and manner of movement in one predicate expression – see, for example, (4), (7):

(4) *tel ke dhabbe duusre kinaare bah gaye*
oil of spots other bank float go-Pst
'The spots of oil floated to the other bank'

(5) *donoā laRke sofe par se uchal paRe*[1]
both boys sofa on from jump fall-Pst
'Both boys jumped up from the sofa'

However, further investigations proved that the combination of path and movement in one predicate expression is not a sufficient argument for including a particular language in one of two polar language types.

Talmy's definition of verb-framed versus satellite-framed languages was specified by Aske (1989) who divided path phrases into two groups: telic path phrases that predicate an end-of-path/location/state of the Figure and non-telic path phrases, describing only the path itself or the arrival at a goal, but not predicating an end-state. According to Aske, both telic and non-telic expressions are possible in satellite-framed languages, while in verb-framed languages telic path phrases are not allowed.

Following Aske's definition of telicity, Bhuvana Narasimhan has stated that a number of different verb-types that may be used in English telic constructions are not allowed in satellite-framed Hindi. Among them are verbs denoting translational motion – see (5) above and (6) below, verbs of noise-emission (7), the change of state verbs (8), etc.:

(6) * *bacchaa darvaaze ko uch(a) laa/ kuudaa*
child door to bounce-Pst jump-Pst
'The child sprang (bounced)/jumped to the door'[2]

(7) **Tren sTeśan meā se khaRkhaRaayii*
train station in of rattle-Pst
'The train rattled out of the station'

(8) * *čokleT Dibbe meā se pighlii*
chocolate box in of melt-Pst
'The chocolate melted out of the box'

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[1] light verb conveys here the meaning of completeness and unexpectedness; the original meaning of the verb 'to fall' has been obliterated.

[2] Bhuvana Narasimhan follows a broad definition of telicity implying both *prediction of an end-state and crossing a boundary*. According to (Slobin & Hoiting 1994) as long as no change of state is predicated (boundary-crossing), manner verbs can be used to encode movement toward a goal or away from a source both in verb-framed and satellite-framed languages.

It is necessary to introduce some clarity into this analysis.

First, the verbs of translational motion like *uchalnaa* 'bounce' and *kuudnaa* 'jump' may be easily used in well formed telic expression, see (5) above and (9) below.

(9) *baccaa darvaaze par kuud paRaa*
boy door to jump fall-Pst
'The child jumped to the door'

Predicates in well formed Hindi telic expressions usually contain light verbs. The main verb in these bipartite verbal constructions is a part of a predicate, not an adjunct, first of all because it is inseparable from the light verb morphologically and – second – because it encodes some grammatical characteristics of the main (manner of motion) verb, i.e. completeness of the action etc. The fact that Talmy (1985) has mentioned light verbs among the 'typical satellites' supports the above given statement.

Second, verb-types that are felicitous in telic constructions vary in different languages. For example, verbs of noise-emission (7), change of state verbs (8), etc. cannot form telic constructions in Hindi as well as they cannot form telic constructions in undoubtedly satellite-framed Russian. Compare (10), (11) – the disallowed in Russian equivalents of Hindi (7), (8):

(10) **pojezd ot-grokhotal ot stantsii*
pojezd out-rattled of station
'The train rattled out of the station'

(11) **śokolad vytajal iz korobki*
chocolate out-melted of the box
'The chocolate melted out of the box'

The only conclusion can be made is that every language has its own verbal classes felicitous in telic construction and language typology may not be defined by the acceptability of the sentences directly translated from English.

Third, Aske's definition of telicity is a little bit confusing. It is more useful following the more precise definition of 'boundary crossing' suggested in (Slobin & Hoiting 1994). According to Slobin & Hoiting, as long as no change of state is predicated (boundary-crossing), like in case of (4), (5), (9) above etc., manner verbs can be used to encode movement toward a goal or away from a source both in verb-framed and satellite-framed languages. Studying Spanish novels, Slobin found expressions like *saltar de la cama* 'jump from the bed'.

Thus, in both types of languages equivalents of the English non-telic path phrases (*He ran*) *along the road/across the lawn/through the tunnel* or *he jumped from the bridge* are allowed, but equivalents of English (*He ran*) *into the house* are possible only in satellite-framed languages (Slobin 1999). Compare Russian (12):

(12) *on vbezhal v dom*
he into-run in house
'He ran into the house'

Hindi allows expressions describing boundary-crossing like (13) below - a feature common for satellite-framed languages:

(13) *vah ghar mE ghus gayaa*
he house in penetrate go-Pst
'He penetrated into the house'

II Lexical resources

The satellite-framed languages usually have many verbs of manner of motion which do not convey the path but encode a great number of manner distinctions (English *walk, run, crawl, fly, float, drift* etc, Russian *bezhat'* 'run', *letet'* 'fly', *polzti* 'crawl', etc.). These verbs also imply a large set of satellites (English *in, up, to, across,* etc., Russian *za-plyt'* 'swim in', *pod-plyt'* 'swim up (to)', *pere-plyt'* 'swim across', *vy-plyt'* swim out, etc.).[3]

While analyzing the lexicalization pattern in Hindi, Bhuvana Narasimhan has found 25 simple Hindi verbs corresponding to 40 English verbs that indicate manner of motion, and 14 simple Hindi verbs corresponding to 24 English indicating path of motion; according to her, the remaining could be translated from English into Hindi with paraphrases or complex predicates.

The author's conclusion was that there are fewer manner-of-motion and path-of motion verbs in Hindi in comparison with English. However, their number is rather considerable, and a large scale survey would probably detect even more of them; as for semantic distribution of the verbs found in the domain of manner, it is comparable to that of manner-of motion verbs in English (Bhuvana Narasimhan 2003).

Bhuvana Narasimhan needed those correspondences to demonstrate that the verb-framed Hindi typology cannot be explained by the paucity of manner of motion verbs alone, and that one should look for other explanations.

I tried to show above that Hindi has properties of satellite-framed languages, so having sufficient number of manner of motion verbs, being one more property of satellite-framed languages, may be expected. In any case calculations based on such small set may become substantially changed through adding to it even several verbs more. For example, addition of the verbs of 'jumping' class (like *uchalnaa*, *kuudnaa*, *phAAdnaa*, *phudaknaa* plus combinations of nouns with verbalizers of chalAAg

[3] In fact it is not always easy to differentiate between manner of motion and path verbs. D. Slobin described his own research experience when he used to treat French *pénétrer* and Spanish *penetrar* as manner verbs, until native speakers assured him that there is no manner of motion implied by these verbs, and that they mean something like 'enter through a tight space, permeable boundary' etc. (D.Slobin, p.c.)

maarnaa type) would show that Hindi is hardly less inventive in the description of the manner of motion than English.

In general, the idea of searching for the direct equivalents of English verbs in English-Hindi dictionaries seems not very productive due to many reasons:

1) Some correspondences in the list by Bhuwana Narasimhan are very artificial and can only distort the real state of things. E.g., verbs like *canoe* or *cycle* describe phenomena alien to traditional Indian culture. No wonder that such notions are expressed by English borrowings. As the borrowed English lexemes can become (conjunct) verbs in Hindi only through adding 'verbalizers' of the type *karnaa* 'to do' and the like, the absence of simple verbal roots for *canoe* or *cycle* is 100 % predictable.[4]

2) Some equivalents of English verbs are missing. For instance, the 'velocity' group is represented by only one verb, namely by *jhapaTnaa,* but the verb *TuuT paRnaa* is not included. The English verb *fall* has two equivalents in Hindi: *girnaa* and *paRnaa*, but only the first one is mentioned in the list. The verbs *girnaa* and *paRnaa* are full synonyms if the object belongs to the class of 'atmospheric precipitates' – such as drops of rain, snow, hail (14), etc. But they are quasi-synonyms in other cases: *girnaa* has purely non-volitional meaning (15), *paRnaa* is used with the objects (stick, whip, etc.) the falling of which has been caused by some agent (16), or with the body-parts/the whole body directed by their owner (17):

(14) *baariś kii buãuãdeã paR rahii hĩã/gir rahii hĩã*
rain of drops fall-PresProgr
'The drops of rain are falling'

(15) *kitaab farś par gir gaii*
book floor on fall go-Pst
'The book fell on the floor'

(16) *uske kandhoã par anginat laaThiyaãaã paRii thiãiã*
his shoulders on countless sticks fall-PstPerf
'Countless sticks fell on his shoulders'

(17) *uskii uãgliyaãaã baar-baar muãuãchoã par paRne lagiãiã*
his fingers time time moustaches on fall-Inf/Obl start-Pst
'His fingers started stroking his moustaches again and again'

Being used with the same object *girnaa* and *paRnaa* have different meanings, compare (18) and (19) below:

[4] Slobin suggested to omit verbs of aided motion. Naming of vehicles, sports, etc., vary by culture and naming practice—compare English *ferry across the river* but *take a taxi to the airport*; English *ski* vs. German *schilaufen* vs French *faire du ski*, etc. (Slobin, p.c).

(18) *vah palang par gir gaii*
she bed on fall go-Pst
'She fell on the bed (somebody pushed her)'

(19) vah thakii hiuu kapRe utaare binaa palang par paR gaii
she tired clothes taking off without bed on fall go-Pst
'She was very tired and without taking off her clothes fell on the bed'

3) Some translations suggested in the list are not adequate: *to cross* should be translated into Hindi as *paar karnaa*, not *kaaTnaa*: *raastaa paar karnaa* means 'to cross the road' while *raastaa kaaTnaa* means 'to cover the length of the road'.

4) Some correspondences are misleading: translating the verb *tairnaa* as English *swim*, the author says that it has wider meaning in comparison to English *swim*, applying to any non-animate (agentive) entity that moves through water by propelling itself, for instance a boat. This is not so. - The verb *tairnaa* can be used with a boat as well with a leaf or feather or any non-agentive entity in the sense 'to float', not 'to move through the water by propelling itself'. Non-telic constructions with the verb *tairnaa* are felicitous both with animate and with non-animate entities, meaning *to swim* in the first and *to float* in the second case.

(20) *jhiil ke biic mE laRkaa/ naukaa/ tair rahaa hai*
lake in the middle boy boat swim/float Pres.Progr
'A boy is swimming - a boat/leaf is floating in the middle of the lake'

As for telic constructions, these are possible only with the animate entities:

(21) *laRkaa *naukaa kinaare par tair aayaa*
boy *boat bank on swim come-Pst
'A boy *boat came to the bank swimming'

5) Even in case a more accurate list of English-Hindi equivalents in path/manner of motion vocabulary would be prepared, there still remains one crucial question: Does the availability of simple verbal roots serve a criterion for measuring the salience of manner of motion in a particular language? - Hindi and the other Indo-Arian languages of India are intensively using 'conjunct verbs', i.e. combinations of nouns or adjectives with a short list of 'verbalizers' – such as 'to be', 'to do', 'to give', 'to take' and a few other - to express the notions of action or state. This structural feature could hardly be interpreted as displaying lack of attention towards the manner of motion in these languages - for example, Hindi *paar karnaa* focuses attention on the spatial feature of the path with as much distinctiveness as does the English *cross*.

6) There does not exist any good methodology for determining the overall size of the lexicon in a given domain in a given language. Counts of English manner of motion verbs can range from 100 to more than 300, depending on criteria,

type of data, etc. For comparing lexical resources of various languages one needs a good standardization of methods for dealing with this question (Slobin, p.c)

7) Dictionaries do not show the frequencies of manner verbs in texts. For example, D. Slobin found that French speakers did not know about half of the manner of motion verbs found in dictionaries. On the other hand, 3 years old American children can act out dozens of manner of motion verbs with no difficulty. (D. Slobin, P.C.). Than means that the comparative ratio of manner of motion verbs in verb-framed versus satellite-framed languages may be determined only in texts, not in dictionaries.

III Salience of manner of movement

In fact any language has necessary resources to express manner of movement. Languages differ in the degree of salience of manner of movement. D. Slobin (1999) has noticed that manner of movement is far more salient in satellite-framed languages than in verb-framed ones. For example, translators from Spanish into English usually add manner verbs missing in Spanish original, while Spanish translators from English omit manner information. Translations from English or Russian into Hindi are yet to be investigated, but the amount of attention a certain language pays to the manner of movement can be analyzed from a different angle.

One may distinguish between classificatory, default manner verbs like *fly* for birds or *swim* for human beings in the water and expressive manner verbs aimed at focusing attention on the manner of movement in particular motion act. D. Slobin distinguishes between 'first tier' and 'second tier' manner verbs (Slobin, 1997).

Satellite-framed languages in neutral circumstances use what would be an expressive manner verb in verb-framed languages. That property unites Hindi with verb-framed, not satellite-framed languages: compare (22) in satellite-framed Russian with its Hindi translation (23). Both sentences describe the situation where the manner of motion is irrelevant on the one hand and predictable from the context on the other. The main focus of attention is on the fact that the children are being followed by a crocodile.

(22) *uvidev, chto za namiplyvet krokodil, mal'chik*
having seen that behind us is swimming crocodile boy

stal gresti izo vsekh sil
started row from all might

(23) *yah dekhkar ki hamaare piiche magarmacch tairtaa*
this having seen that us behind crocodile swimming

aa rahaa hai laRkaa puure zor se naav khene lagaa
coming is boy full might with boat row started-Pst

'Seeing that crocodile is following us the boy started rowing the boat with all his might'

In Russian (22) the verb *swim* is absolutely felicitous, though may be replaced by *gnatsa* that is *follow*. Hindi speakers do not encourage the usage of the verb *tair* for *swim* in (23). In case the speaker wants to stress the manner of movement the verb *tair* for *swim* should be used as an adjunct, not as a part of a predicate.

The manner verb may be used as a part of a predicate as well, but only in case it shows special attention towards the manner of movement. Compare Hindi (24) where the verb *tair* focuses attention on the manner of movement and should be replaced by the general motion verb *aanaa* 'come' in case the focus of attention is the fact of arrival, not the manner of motion and Russian (25) where the verb *plyt'* 'swim' is the only possible in this context.

(24) *koii ajiib jaanvar hamaare dviip par tair aayaa /aa gayaa*
some strange animal our island on swim come-Pst/come go-Pst
'A strange animal swam up to our island'

(25) *kakoj-to udivitel'nyj zver' priplyl na nash ostrov*
some strange animal swam-Pst on our island

IV The way of describing complex path

There is one more property of verb-framed versus satellite-framed languages to be discussed here in application to Hindi: that is the way of describing complex path (a journey). Motion event is usually described in terms of the 'path' (trajectory) lying between 'source' and 'goal' (ground). A path can be extended, including milestones or sub-goals. In addition a 'path' can be situated in a medium (along a road, through the water, etc.). The speakers of the verb-framed languages tend to use a separate verb of motion with each piece of information about 'source', 'goal' or 'medium' (Slobin 1999). In typical verb-framed Spanish several ground elements with one motion verb are (rarely) allowed in non-telic path phrases, but prohibited in telic ones.

As for Hindi, it always demands a separate verb of motion to be used with every ground element – both in telic and in non-telic constructions. Compare the Hindi phrase (26) having three motion verbs with its English equivalent where only one motion verb describes the same motion event:

(26) *tiinoã aadmii jel se nikalkar saRakoã se guzarte hue*
three man jail from coming out streets by passing

jangal kii taraf cale gaye
forest towards move go-Pst

'The three men walked from the jail through the streets to the forest'

To sum up: four cognitive properties of 'verb-framed versus satellite-framed languages' have been analyzed above: 1) the usage of manner verbs in telic path phrases; 2) lexical resources; 3) salience of manner of movement; 4) The way of describing 'complex path'.

It has been shown (as distinct from Bhuvana Narasimhan's view) that Hindi shares the first two properties with the satellite-framed languages and the second two with the verb-framed languages.

The above undertaken attempts to find the place of Hindi in the dichotomy 'verb-framed versus satellite-framed languages' have brought us to the conclusion that it is not easy to put every language into one or another group. A language may share some properties with the verb-framed and some other with the satellite-framed languages. It seems that instead of binary opposition the properties of verb-framed versus satellite-framed languages may be arranged as a scale where some languages will be closer to the ideal verb-framed and the others to the ideal satellite-framed type. The cognitive properties themselves may be represented as a scale, i.e. the more verbal classes are felicitous in telic path phrases the closer is a particular language to the ideal satellite-framed type. According to that property English is much more satellite-framed in comparison to Russian or Hindi.

There is one more very promising approach offered by D. Slobin (2008). He proposed two broad construction types: 1) path-in-verb (PIV) and 2) path in non-verb (verb particle, preposition, adverb or a dedicated construction type) – PIN. This approach allows for a cline between Talmy's dichotomy of satellite-framed versus verb-framed languages. Determining the place of Hindi in this cline based on the relative proportions of PIV and PIN constructions in use may be the aim of further investigations.

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Ergativity in Kashmiri and Marathi

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Introduction

It is well known that transitive verbs in some select Indo-Aryan languages, such as Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri and Marathi exhibit a split ergativity in their aspectual system. In the non-perfective the subject is nominative and controls the agreement. In the perfective the subject is ergative and the unmarked direct object controls the agreement. The agreement control of the unmarked direct object suggests its absolutive status. However there is a problem. The object marking in the perfective is not any different than the one in the imperfective. Secondly, the agreement in these languages is parasitic on case. The agreement picks up an unmarked NP across several constructions of which dative is a prime example. Thus it has been argued that the perfective object agreement merely follows this general pattern. The perfective object need not be accorded either a special absolutive case or a distinct agreement typical of an ergative system. In brief there is only one agreement that encompasses all the constructions (i.e., nominative, ergative, dative etc.), (See Gair and Wali 1989: and also this volume, for a summary of various accounts along this line). These analyses have equated the absolutive object with the nominative itself. The absolutive object has been renamed as a nominative object. (See Herbert and Toribio: 1991, Toribio and Gair: 1991, Davison: 1986.) All such analyses assume that the ergative system in these languages is somehow a twisted version of the nominative, an epiphenomenon at best. Note that these analyses grant a nominative status to subjects of all intransitives without any distinction.

The object of this paper is to argue that the nominative and the absolutive case relations are structurally distinct and are governed by two distinct agreements. Our evidence is based on case and agreement of the intransitive subjects in both Kashmiri and Marathi. It shows that not all intransitive subjects can be categorized under the nominative rubric. The agreement in Kashmiri is particularly interesting and crucially telling. It not only proves that the absolutive is distinct from the nominative, it provides evidence for a distinction between structural and inherent absolutive. The analysis also sheds light on the ergative subjects of certain intransitives which have been categorized as anomalous in almost all previous analyses.

Our analysis is preliminary and semi-formal. It utilizes the active agreement theory proposed in Chomsky (1995), and Bobaljik (1993). The active agreement theory takes into account the difference between nominative and ergative systems first noted in Dixon (1979). A hallmark of the ergative systems according to Dixon is that the properties of intransitive subjects, such as case, agr, and control align with the absolutive object. In contrast, in a nominative accusative system the intransitive subjects

align with the nominative. The alignment covers both the unergative and the unaccusative intransitives (1)

(1): Intransitive alignment

	(a) Nom. system		(b) Erg. System	
Transitive verb	Nom	Acc	Erg.	Abs
Unergative subject	Nom		Abs.	
Unaccusative subject	Nom		Abs.	

Under the active agreement theory a transitive verb has two agreements –AGR-1 and AGR-2 as noted below.

(2a) AGR- 1

$_{\text{AGR 1-P}}$[NOM $_{\text{TP}}$ [$_{\text{AGR2-P}}$ [ACC $_{\text{VP}}$ [NP NP V] AGR-2] T]]]AGR-1]]]]

(2b)AGR-2

$_{\text{AGR 1-P}}$[ERG $_{\text{TP}}$ [$_{\text{AGR2-P}}$ [ABS $_{\text{VP}}$ [NP NP V] AGR-2] T]]]AGR]]]]

AGR- 1 is active in the nominative system, while AGR –2 is active in the ergative type. Only one AGR is active in a system, clearly a fallout of the economy principle. Note that in this system nominative and the absolutive are posited as two distinct cases. The nominative is checked only by AGR-1 and the absolutive by AGR-2. The nominative and the absolutive are perceived as obligatory cases. The nominative is checked in the respective system by their respective agreements. The case of the intransitive subject, whether unergative or unaccusative links with the active agreement in that particular system. As a result, intransitive, subjects in the nominative system are differently marked than the intransitive subjects in the ergative system. Bobaljik terms this as OBLIGATORY CASE PARAMETER (OCP). Note that the intransitives in the two systems are structurally different (3a and 3b).

(3a) Intransitives in the nominative system

$_{\text{AGR-1P}}$[NOM [$_{\text{TP}}$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ [NP V] T]]AGR-1]]]

(3b).Intransitives in the ergative system

$_{\text{TP}}$[$_{\text{AGR-2P}}$ [ABS [$_{\text{VP}}$ [NP V] AGR-2]] T]]]

2. Kashmiri

Consider Kashmiri first. In sections 2.1 and 2.2 we analyze the transitive construction. It brings out the difference between the nominative and ergative subjects and objects. In section 2.3 we document the three conjugations of perfective intransitives and their import to the absolutive case.

2.1. The Imperfective construction

The transitive imperfective in Kashmiri encodes the nominative system. It is specifically marked by three features:

(i)The verb takes an invariant suffix-*aan*.

(ii) The auxiliary carries the tense and the agreement features of the nominative subject.

(iii) The auxiliary is also inflected for the object clitics.

The case of the direct object (DO) is null (4, 5) unless the DO is animate and is in a higher person than the subject (I before II before III). In this context the DO takes a dative case (6a). Note that the clitic must be marked on the verb for the unmarked DO as in (5). The dative cased object clitic is present only if the object is deleted (6b). (For detail see Wali and Koul 1994, Wali & Koul 1997 : 155).

(4) su chu kitaab paraan
he NOM-MSG AUX –MSG book reading
'He is reading a book /He reads a book.'

(5) bṫ chu-s-an su parṫnaavaan . (subj)
I-NOM-MSG AUX –ISG-3SG-CL he teaching
'I am teaching him.'

(6a) su chu me parṫnaav-aan (DO higher than SUBJ)
he NOM-MSG AUX -MSG –ISG-DAT teaching
'He is teaching me.'

(6b) su chu-m parṫnaav-aan
he NOM-MSG AUX –MSG-ISG-CL teaching
'He is teaching me.'

The intransitive subjects, whether unergative or unaccusative, take the nominative case and the associated verb agreement (7, 8).

(7) su chu gatsh-aan
he-NOM-MSG AUX-MSG going
'He is going / He goes.'

(8) su chu pev-aan pathar.
he –NOM –MSG AUX –MSG falling
'He is falling / He falls.'

Intransitive subjects thus conform to predicted nominative pattern noted in[1](1). Under Chomskyan hypothesis AGR-1 is active in both transitive and intransitive predicates.

2.2 The perfective construction

The perfective differs from the imperfective in several respects. In the perfective the subject appears in the ergative. Second, the case marking of the perfective DO differs from the one noted above for the imperfective. The perfective DO is always in the null case. Its case does not vary with the person hierarchy stated above for the imperfective DO. There is also no animate inanimate distinction. Third, the perfective verb declines for proximate, indefinite and historic past. Focusing on the proximate and indefinite past, we note that in the transitive these forms show morphological variations for gender- number features of the null object (9).

(9)Transitive past proximate as in (i), and past definite as in (ii)

verb stem		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
chal 'wash'	(i)	chol	chəl'	chəj	chaji
	(ii)	chajyoov	chajyeeyi	chajyeeyi	chajyeeyi
par 'read'	(i)	por	pər'	pər	pari
	(ii)	par'oov	pareeyi	pareeyi	pareeyi

(10) aslam-an por akhbaar
Aslam-ERGread-MSG newspaper-ABS-MSG
'Aslam read the newspaper.'

(11) aslam- an par'oov akhbaar
Aslam-ERGread- MSG newspaper-ABS-MSG
'Aslam read the paper some indefinite time ago.'

(12) me vuch su.
I-erg saw –3 MSG he-abs- 3-MSG
'I saw him'

(13) aslam-an vuch sɔ
Aslam-ergsaw –3FSG she- ABS –3FSG
'Aslam saw her.'

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[1] A sole exception to these analyses is Comrie (1984). He classifies intransitive subjects as nominative or absolutive depending upon the system, that is nominative vs. ergative. Our analysis follows this rule, with added empirical and formal content, as we explain in the paper.

These variations in the transitive verb have been classified as belonging to the first conjugation by Grierson (1889)2[2], the first significant grammarian of Kashmiri. Note that the verb does not show any pronominal object clitics (12,13). The absence of DO clitics[3] in the perfective sharply contrasts with the obligatory clitics required for the imperfective DO (6a). We claim that the difference emerges from the accusative absolutive nature of the two objects. Only the absolutive is in the specifier of active AGR-2 as predicted by the ergative system. The absolutive links only with the agreement phi-features as seen in (12) and (13)..

2.3. Intransitive verbs

Consider now intransitive verbs. According to Grierson (1899) these show three types of declensions, which he has classified as first, second, and third conjugation. A small set of intransitives-nearly thirty to forty in number, partially listed in footnote4[4] 4, belong to the first conjugation. There subjects are ergatively marked (14) and they show distinct forms for proximate and indefinite past (14, 15, 16).

(14) me vod.
I-ERG cried
'I cried.'

(15) me vazo:v.
I-ERG cried
'I cried some indefinite time ago.'

(16) 1st Conjugation Intransitive Proximate past as in (i); and Indefinite past as in (ii)

verb stem		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
vad 'cry'	(i)	vod	vod	vod	vod
	(ii)	vazoov	vazoov	vazoov	vazoov

These intransitives satisfy the criteria set for the class of first conjugation, the perfective transitives noted above. They have ergative subjects and they show distinct proximate and indefinite past forms. Note that these intransitives do not show any agreement variation. This also follows from the general blocking of the agreement by ergative subjects

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2 Grierson's classification is based on Ishwar Kaula's Kashmiri grammar written in Sanskrit around 1898. It contains as extensive register of all Kashmiri verbs.

3 The verb does show second person pronominal DO clitics, which are obligatory in all contexts. (See Wali and Koul 1994), Wali and Koul 1997). The clitics related to first and third persons are however absent in the perfective.

4 *as* 'laugh' *kash* 'itch, *guzar'* pass time, *joor* 'join', *jakh*' work' *zaag* 'be 'watchful', *chak* 'urinate, *tŰaal*' go away with,'*nats* 'dance', *vad* 'cry' , *vaay* 'blow', *vohav* 'curse' ,*ladŰ* 'fight,' *voor* 'shout' ,*gind* 'play'.

The intransitives of the second conjugation also form a small group. They are nearly seventy in number. They have been partially listed in footed note 5[5] (5). The subject of these verbs is in the null case (17,18). The verb inflects for both proximate and indefinite past. Both the forms show morphological changes similar to the verbs of the transitive null cased objects. (Compare 17 with 9.) (For details see Wali and Koul : 1997).

(17). IInd conjugation : Intransitive Proximate past (i) and indefinite Past (i)

Verb stem		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
pak 'walk'	(i)	pok	pək'	pəc	paci
	(ii)	pacoov	paceeyi	paceeyi	paceeyi
pak 'break'	(i)	phuṭ	phuṭ'	phuṭ	phuci
	(ii)	phucoov	phuceeyi	phuceeyi	phuceeyi

(18) su pok /sↄ pəc
he- nom walked/ she-nom walked

(19) əənt́ phucoov
mirror broke --past-sg
'The mirror broke some time ago.'

The intransitive subjects of the second conjugation are acting like the perfective absolutive objects. They carry the features of the absolutive objects and not that of the nominative subjects though both NPs are in the null case. We claim that these intransitive subjects are in the absolutive and not nominative case. Their case marking follows naturally from the active agreement theory proposed above. In an ergative system the AGR-2 linked to the absolutive object is active and it is this agreement that is borne by the intransitive subject as predicted by the Obligatory Case Parameter noted above in (1). The theories that equate absolutive with nominative have no way of explaining the features of these intransitives. The one agreement theory is also inadequate. It too fails to distinguish between nominative and absolutive subjects. Kashmiri data shows that the intransitive agreement is cued to the nominative case in the nominative system and to the absolutive case in the ergative system. It discriminates

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5 *khar* 'be disliked', *khots* 'fear, to afraid', *khas* 'mount' ,*gal* 'melt, *tsal* 'flee/escape', *dŰal* 'move, *dŰool* 'to roll,' *tar* 'be stolen', *pher* 'go round', *phal* 'bear fruit', *pak* 'walk' ,*phuṭ* 'broken; , *pher* 'go round' , *phal* 'bear fruit' , *phas* 'be caught' ,*byeh* 'sit' *mar* 'die' , *meel* 'meet', *mash* 'forget, *rooz* 'stop' , *las* 'living long', *loss* 'be weary', *wup* 'burn inside', *vas* 'come down' , *shrap* 'evaporate', *soor* ' be spent' *Ėkh* 'become dry'.

nominative from the absolutive subjects though both carry the null case. The agreement encodes the case.

Returning to the ergative intransitive subjects of the first conjugation in (14), we note that the active agreement theory is inadequate to predict their ergative case.

Before we proceed to analyze this group it should be mentioned here that most of the intransitives of the first and second conjugation semantically belong to unergative predicates. They usually form a small subset of intransitive predicates and semantically belong to willed or volitional acts --- work, talk, smile, quarrel, cry,- and certain involuntary bodily processes such as cough, sneeze, burp, and urinate (Perlmutter:1978). This classification is borne out by most verbs of the first and second conjugation as can be seen from the verb list noted in footnotes (4 and 5). Some of these verbs are currently obsolete and some do not fit the semantic criterion but that is besides the point.

Returning to the ergative subjects of the first conjugation intransitives, note that this is not a language specific property. It is a common feature of many ergative systems, the most famous of which is Basque (Laka: 1993), and many others mentioned in Dixon (1994). The ergative intransitives are currently known as active unergatives (see Harris : 1997). In Kashmiri the active unergatives form a small subset of the larger unergative group. These active unergative subjects align with the ergative subjects of the transitives. The alignment matches the nominatives subject alignment noted in (20).

(20) Ergative intransitive alignment

	Nom. system	Erg. system
Transitive verb	Nom Acc	Erg Abs.
Unergative subject	Nom	Erg

Traditionally, these active unergative have been suspected to be transitives in nature. (See for examples Comrie (1984) for Hindi; Hook, Koul and Koul (1987) for Kashmiri, Hindi and Marathi, and Mahajan (1990) for Hindi). However, the proposal is too narrow and had no universal import. It fails to explain the cross language, as well as intralanguage randomness in ergative marking of the intransitive subjects. Now, recently, Hale and Keyser (1991) have proposed that universally unergatives are transitive predicates at the lexical level as in (21)

(21): Universal structure of unergatives
$_{VP}$[NP V NP]
Subj (laugh, run, sneeze.....)

According to this hypotheses, unergative objects in most languages undergo incorporation into the verb and become part of the verb. The unergative subjects , the only argument left behind, then moves to the specifier of AGR- 1 or AGR – 2 and is marked nominative or absolutive depending upon system as is the case with examples in (7) and (18). However, when the subject emerges in the ergative, it is assumed that the

objects are not incorporated into the verb. In Basque for example the verb in this context is composed of a nominal with a light verb i.e. *barre with egin* as exemplified in (22).

(22) emakumeak barre egin du
woman- The-ERG laugh done has
'The woman has laughed.'

In Kashmiri there are at least three examples of ergative intransitives of first conjugation: namely *tsaas tŰaāaāg, poānd,* 'to cough, to emit a loud sound , to sneeze' that exhibit light verb composition. This is shown in (23a , 23 b, and 23c).

(23 a) təm' kər tsaas.
he-ERG did cough
'He coughed.'

(23 b) gəəv dits ṭããg
cow-ERG gave loud sound
'The cow emitted a loud sound.'

(23 c) me trəəv pɔ̃nd.
I-ERG threw sneeze
'I sneezed.'

It is interesting to note that the light verbs in (23 a,b,c) – kər, dits, trəəv- are transitives, thus supporting the claim that unergatives are basically transitives in their lexical structure. The presence of the overt cognate/ lexical objects such as 'cough , and sneeze' then forces the subject to be ergatively marked. Note, however not all ergative intransitives show overt cognate objects. We propose that the cognate objects of these intransitives are present as 'expletive pro'[6] at the lexical level. The 'explicative pro' does not incorporate in the verb. It is this 'expletive pro' object that forces the subject to be ergatively marked. The ergative intransitives and transitives are now equated and share similar case marking. The additional hypotheses that unergatives are lexically transitives preserves the active agreement theory. Note that Grierson's classification of these as belonging to the first conjugation of the transitive class finds justification in our formal analysis. Under the theory that classified all intransitive subjects as nominative, the ergative intransitives had to be listed as anomalous. The active agreement theory coupled with unergative transitive hypotheses explains why unergative intransitives may be marked with absolutive or ergative case. It also explains why unergative absolutive subjects and transitive absolutive objects show similar agreement variation.

The absolutive unergative subjects are in the specifier of the active absolutive agreement. The objects of these unergative verbs are 'expletive pro' and are incorporated into the verb. The objects of the ergatively marked intransitive subjects do

[6] Note that in Kashmiri the 'pro' connected with the deleted pronominal objects, noted in Wali and Koul (1994) must be differentiated from the 'expletive pro' we are assuming here. The latter has no overt inflectional realization.

not incorporate and may be overt or 'expletive pro'. The subjects then acquire the ergative case marking.

We will not go into the formal details of these two construction here.

The verbs of the third conjugation comprise most of the intransitives and form a large group. Semantically they belong to the unaccusative class. According to Perlmutter (1978) these usually form a large class and contain stative verbs expressed by adjectives such as be red, be fat, be old, predicates of existence and happening , and verbs such as fall, sink, shake, boil, and inchoatives such as melt, grow etc. In Kashmiri there are nearly two hundred fifty predicates that belong to this group. Footnote7[7] (7) lists a few of these.

The unaccusative verbs conjugate differently than the verbs of first and second conjugation. They employ the same form for both the proximate and indefinite past. The form is morphologically indistinct from the one used for first and second conjugation. However, unlike them, the form does not induce any morphological changes in the verb stem. The difference is exemplified in the following pairs in (24). Verbs of first and second conjugation show a morphological change. In contrast, verbs of third conjugation are invariant.

(24): Conjugation difference (PP: Proximate past : IP : Indefinite past)

verb stem	conj.	Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
pak 'walk	II PP	pok	pək'	pəc	paci
	II IP	pacyoov	pacyeeyi	pacyeeyi	pacyeeyi
grak 'boil'	III PP	grak'oov	grakeeyi	grakeeyi	grakeeyi
	III IP	same as above			
phuṭ 'break'	II PP	phuṭ	phuṭ	phuṭ	phuci
	II IP	phucoov	phuceeyi	phuceeyi	phuceeyi
mƆṭ 'be fat	III PP	mƆṭ'yoov	mƆṭeeyi	mƆṭeeyi	mƆṭeeyi
	III IP	same as above			

[7] *aas* 'be' *gir* 'totter, fall' *ats* 'enter' ,*viir* 'be whirled aloft', *kamp* 'tremble', *kuth* 'be in distress', *kyann* 'be moist' *atsh* 'be weak, *adr* 'be wet' , *kal* 'be dumb', *kaatŰh* ' be hard' *kaavl˝r* 'be balck', *kr˥han* 'become black', *gan* 'become thick' , *garm* ' be hot ', *gob* ' be heavy' *grak* 'boil over' , *camak* 'shine'.

chal 'wash'	I PP	chol	chəl'	chəj	chaji
	I IP	chajyoov	chajyeeyi	chajyeeyi	chajyeeyi
khul' 'open'	III PP	khul'oov	khuleeyi	khuleeyi	khuleeyi
	III IP	same as above			

Note that the subject of these unaccusatives is in the null case, as is the case with the unergatives of second conjugation. The agreement changes in the two conjugation are not reflected in the case.

(25) su mɔṭyoov
he-ABS fat-PAST
'He became fat/fattened'

(26) su bɔḍòov
he-ABS sank-PAST
'He sank."

The difference in the agreement features in the second and third conjugation raise a crucial question. Are the unaccusative subjectively marked as predicted by the active agreement theory noted earlier in (1)? The unaccusative subjects cannot be categorized either with the nominative of the ergative system. The nominative AGR-1 is always with the auxiliary, never with the verb itself. The AGR-2 is specific to absolutive case as seen above with transitive verbs and verbs of second conjugation. The perfective unaccusative agreement is unlike the absolutive agreement. We claim that this agreement difference is based on two types of cases: namely structural and inherent as noted in Chomsky (1986) and also Belletti (1988). The absolutive agreement (i.e AGR–2) clearly links to the structural absolutive. The absolutive nominal of both the transitive and the unergative is in the specifier of AGR-2, the absolutive agreement.

They receive structural absolutive. In contrast the unaccusative subject stays in situ in the complement position of verb. The unaccusative objects are directly assigned case by the verb. They link to an expletive subject as has been assumed for unaccusative verbs in some analysis. They thus exhibit a different agreement than the absolutive agreement. We claim that the status of these objects is similar to the partitive objects noted in Belletti (1998). The difference in the structural absolutive and the inherent absolutive is seen in the agreement difference and not in the case marking. The structural and inherent absolutive explains the agreement split.

An additional support for the unergative and unaccusative difference comes from the causative/ transitive formation of these two classes of verbs. Unergatives of the second conjugation form their causatives exactly like the transitives. Both take the suffix an /In. In contrast the causative/ transitive suffix for the unaccusatives is – ˝r.

(27) : Causatives of Ist and IInd conjugation in- ˝naav

kar 'do 'karṫnaav (TR)

ran 'cook' 'ranṫnaav (TR)

as 'laugh' 'asṫnaav (INTR.I)

beh 'sit' 'behṫnaav (INTR. 'II)

(28). me ranṫ naaṫ -voov su oolav.
I-ERG cook-CAUS-PAST he-ABS potatoes
'I made him cook potatoes.'

(29) me asṫnoov aslam
I-ERG laugh-CAUS-PAST Aslam- ABS
'I made Aslam laugh'

(30) me behṫnoov su
I-ERG sit-CAUSE-PAST he ABS
'He made me sit.'

(31): Causatives / transitives of IIIrd conjugation in –˝raav

mƆṭ 'be fat' mɔṭṫraav

buḍ 'be old' budṫraav

teez 'be sharp' teezṫraav

(32) bemaari buḍṫroov su.
sickness old-CAUS-PAST he-ABS
'Sickness made him old.'

According to Syeed (1985) the causative/ transitives formed by - ˝r are accidental type, while the causatives with – *an* /-*ṫn* represent deliberate causation. This fits the semantic criteria of unergatives as agentives, while unaccusatives as belonging to the inchoative, adjectival and other groups noted above.

It should be noted here that a few verbs listed in the second conjugation also show causative forms in -| ṫr. Similarly, a few verbs of the third conjugation show -*ṫn* / -*an* causatives. Clearly more is involved in causative/ transitive variation than a simple factor of unergative/ unaccusative marking. We will not go into the specifics of these exceptional intransitives here.

In conclusion, three way Kashmiri conjugation shows that the absolutive is a distinct case in its own right. It links to active AGR-2. The ergative transitives form a subgroup of the larger unergatives and that the compliments of unaccusatives may be inherently case marked.

3. Marathi

3.1 Imperfective vs. perfective

In Marathi, unlike Kashmiri, both imperfective and the perfective may be marked on the verb itself. The subject is nominative in the imperfective, and ergative in the perfective. In both aspects the direct animate object is marked with a postposition - *laa*, while the inanimate is unmarked. In short the direct object does not show any distinctive case marking in the ergative as expected. The verb agrees with the nominative subject in the imperfective (33), and with the unmarked object in the perfective (34).

(33) to samayaa ghaas-t-o.
he-Nom lamps –3 FPL wash –IMPF-3MSG
'He washed lamps.'

(34) tyaa-ni samayaa ghas-l-yaa
he- ERG lamps – 3FPL wash –PERF- 3FPL
'He washed lamps.'

Now it has been argued that the object agreement pattern (34) is not specific to the perfective. (See Kachru and Pandharipande 1979). It follows from a general rule, namely: agreement pairs up with an unmarked NP. The rule operates across all constructions as exemplified by the agreement with the unmarked NP in dative –psyche construction (35).

(35) tyaa-laa samayaa aavadǕ- taat
he-DAT lamps-3FPL like-3FPL
'He likes lamps.'

However, a serious problem with the general rule arises when both subject and object NPs are unmarked, as is the case in the imperfective (33) noted above.

In this case the agreement pairs with the subject by passing the unmarked object NP. Clearly the subject agreement requires additional assumptions such as Subject Primary, Maximal C-command or strong agr features as has been suggested for Hindi-Urdu. (See for various details Kachru & Pandharipande 1979. Gair and Wali 1988, 1989, Davison 1996). A problem with all these analyses in Marathi is they fail to account for the absence of agreement with the unmarked first and second person pronouns, when these occur in subjects position in the ergative / perfective construction as in (36, 37).

(36) mi samaya a ghasl-y-aa
I lamps –3FPL wash –PERF-3FPL
'I washed the lamps.'

(37) tu samayaa ghaasl-y-aa-s.
you lamps –3FPL wash-PERF-3FPL –2-CLITIC
'You washed the lamps.'

The failure of the agreement with these unmarked pronouns suggest that it is not enough for the subject to be unmarked or be in Maximal C-command. These conditions are necessary but not sufficient to trigger the subject agreement. Notice that the active agreement theory which posits two distinct agreement requires no such provisions. The economy principle requires that only one AGR be active. In the nominative system AGR-1 is active. The object does not show agreement with the verb because AGR-2 is inactive, not because the object is unmarked. In the ergative the unmarked object shows agreement because AGR-2 is active. Active AGR-2 links with the DO NP only. Active AGR-2 does not link with the unmarked pronouns in (36, 37) because they are not in the specifier of the active AGR-2. They are in the specifier of the inactive ARG-1. This principal is strictly obeyed in Marathi. It confirms the status of perfective DO as absolutive and distinct from the nominative.

An apparent argument against absolutive status of perfective DO arises from the blocking of the AGR- 2 by the animate-*laa* NP (38).

(38) tyaa-ne lili-laa sataav-l-a
he –ERG Lil i-3FSG annoy-PERF-NEUTRAL –AGR
'He annoyed Lili'

We claim that the blocking of AGR-2 in (38) , is a low level language specific rule. It does not impair the argument for the object in the ergative construction having an absolutive status. For example in many cases the *-laa* postposition does not block the AGR-2 (39). Secondly, in double object construction animate common noun DO's are only optionally *–laa* marked and show agreement even when the direct object is absolutive as required by the ergative system and established by its adherence to AGR-2.

(39) tyaa-ne lili- laa bandha-l-i / nijav-l-i.
he-ERG Lili-DAT tie –PERF – 3FSG/sleep-FERF- 3FSG
'He tied Lili/ he made Lili sleep'.

(40) tyaa-ne mitraa-laa naat/ naati-laa daakhav-l-i
he-ERG friend-DAT grand daughter/grand daughter-LAA show –PERF 3FSG
'He showed the granddaughter to the friend.'

In short the active agreement theory puts the nominative and the ergative in Marathi in a far better perspective than the previous theories mentioned above.

3.2. Intransitives

Consider now intransitives. Marathi intransitive subjects are unmarked in both imperfective and the perfective aspect.

(41) to dhaav-t-o
he –NOM run –IMPF – 3MSG
'He runs'.

(42) to dhaav-laa.
he ABS run –PERF-3MSG
'He ran'.

Marathi unergative do not take ergative subjects except for the lone verb aāaāācav 'washing of hands after a meal'. This is however not surprising. We are assuming that unergatives are universally transitives and are subject to object incorporation. The unmarked subject indicates object incorporation.. The ergative subjects are obtained only if the object does not incorporate. Marathi unergatives obey the object incorporation rule. It should also be noted that the animate postposition *laa* linked to the direct objects does percolate to intransitive subjects in the perfective (42). It confirms our observation that the marking of the *–laa* on the animate NP is not linked to its absolutive status. The intransitive subjects takes the unmarked/least marked absolutive case. The case of the intransitive subjects in (41) and (42) thus seem to follow the unmarked nominative and the ergative paradigm in (1). Marathi aspectuals show a virtual absence of split intransitive case marking. Surprisingly, the split case marking plays an important role in the subjunctive.

3.3. Ergativity in the subjunctive

The transitive case marking in the subjunctive is identical to one in the perfective. It takes ergative subjects and displays animate inanimate case distinction in the direct object noted above. The subjunctive agreement rule is identical to the one in the perfective. It shows active ARG-2 (43).

(43) tyaa-ne samayaa ghaasaa-v-ya asa ma-laa vaatŰta.
he –ERG lamp-3FPL wash-SUBN-3FPL so me-DAT think
'I think he should wash the lamps.'

The identity of the subjunctive transitive pattern with the one in the perfective, does not percolate to the intransitive. For instance, subjunctive unergative subjects may take ergative absolutive case as shown in (44) and (45).

(44) tyaane hasaava asa malaa vaaṭta.
He-ERG laugh-SUBN-NEUT so I| -DAT think
'I think he should laugh.'

(45) to hasaa-v-aa asa malaa vaaṭta
he-ABS laugh-SUBN-3SG so I-DAT wish
'I wish he would laugh.'

The transitive ergative in the subjunctive has no nominative accusative counterpart except in a few cases (See Kelkar 1997:287). Clearly then both the ergative and the absolutive subjects are tied to the transitive ergative system only as suggested in (1). Interestingly the difference in case is accompanied by a semantic difference in the modality which may be roughly characterized as obligative (obligation, necessity etc) vs. potential (epistemic, optative, intention etc.) (See Damle 1965: 614). The obligative pairs with the ergative subjects (44), while the potential pairs with the absolutives (45).

The case distinction is apparently representative of what is known as fluid subject marking within Dixonian framework. Under this framework the case split is controlled by the semantics and not so much by the lexicality of the verb. (See Hook, Koul and Koul 1987 for an analysis of some Kashmiri, and Marathi construction along these lines.) However , we suggest that the split is not so much cued to the case but to two types of modality which have a homophonous form *–v*. Our argument again comes from the absence of case marking in the first and second person pronouns noted above. These null cased pronouns show two types of agreement: (i) neutral (46), typical of ergative intransitives, and (ii) gender number variant (47), typical of absolutive subjects.

(46) mi has-aa-v-e / tu has-aav-e.
I laugh –SUBN-NEUTRAL/ you laugh-SUBN-NETURAL
'I should laugh/ You should laugh.'

(47) tu has-aav-aa / tu has-aa-v- ii.
you-MSG laugh-SUBN-2MSG / you-FSG laugh –SUBN –2FSG
'I should laugh /You should laugh ......(I wish)

Clearly case marking is necessary but not a sufficient condition for the two modalities. It is the modality difference that is controlling the semantics. Under our analysis the two modalities have different syntactic structures. Both the modalities are based on unergative predicates. Unergatives are basic transitives as noted above. Ergative subjects of these predicates indicate that the expletive pro object is not incorporated in the verb. The absolutive subjects ensue when the object gets incorporated. Note that unaccusative subjects also take absolutive subjects but they are not transitives. Our analysis predicts that the unaccusative subjects will be marked with absolutive only. Example (48) confirms this prediction.

(48) ma-laa vaaṭta ki (i) to panŰy-aat budŰaa-v-aa
I-DAT wish that he –ABS water- in drown-SUBN-3MSG
'He would water-in drown in water. (Mere wishing)'

(ii)* tyaa-ne paa nŰyaat budŰaa v-e
he –ERG water in drown SUBN –NEUTRAL
'He should drown in water.(Necessity etc.)

A general assumption is that the unaccusatives acquire subject hood by co indexing with an expletive subject. We will not go into the formal details of this construction here except to note that at times the unaccusative predicates appear to be taking ergative case as in (49,50) contra our prediction. However, these constructions are rare and border almost on idiomatic usage.

(49) tyaane maraava asa malaa vaa ṭta
he-ERG die so I-DAT feel
'I feel that he should die.'

(50) paavsaani padŰaava asa malaa vaaṭta.
Rain-ERG fall so I- DAT feel
'I feel that rain should fall/it should rain..'

4. Conclusion

In conclusion Kashmiri and Marathi data show that absolutive must not be equated with the nominative. Secondly, in an ergative system the unergative subjects may emerge as ergative or absolutive. The difference in the two cases is related to the incorporation of the expletive pro object. The ergative subject emerges only if the cognate object, which may be overt or pro, is not incorporated. In fact there is a generalization to be noted here: Intransitives will emerge as ergative only if the language has an ergative system. The ergative intransitive will always be interpreted as unergative/ agentive verb. Secondly, the nominative system will never generate an ergative intransitives. In this system nominative is the only available case to the intransitives. Third, unaccusative subjects will never be eligible for an ergative case. They emerge with an absolutive case. The absolutive case of the unaccusative may be structural or inherent as is the case in Kashmiri. In the nominative system there is a possibility of unaccusatives emerging with an accusative case. They also have been found in some languages. However, they do not exist in the two language noted here.

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A Descriptive Account of the Transitivity Spectrum in Marathi*

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1. Introduction

From the legendary grammar of Paṇini to contemporary grammars the notion of transitivity continues to occupy a central place in the description of a language. Since the seminal studies of Lakoff (1977) and Hopper and Thompson (1980), it has been widely accepted that transitivity is a "scalar" rather than a "polar" (i.e. dichotomous) notion. In other words, transitivity is not a matter of all or nothing but rather that of degree: a continuum or a scale with prototypical transitive clauses (such as *Ram killed Sham*) at its higher end and intransitive clauses depicting "change of state" (such as *Shan died* or *The snow melted*) on its lower end. Between these two poles lie clauses with varying degree of transitivity. In this paper, drawing on the insights from a large number of previous studies, I will offer a comprehensive descriptive account of the transitivity spectrum in Marathi, an Indo-Aryan language primarily spoken in the Maharashtra state of India by nearly 71 million speakers (2001 census of India[1]) which is the 15th most widely spoken languages in the world.[2]

The organization of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I will briefly discuss the morphological relationship between transitive and intransitive verbs. In Section 3, I will describe situations encoded by canonical transitive verbs wherein the subject is both intender and performer of the act denoted by the verb root (e.g. *Ram killed Sham*). In section 4, I will describe three types of situations which deviate from the canonical one described in section 3, namely, (i) human subject which are not intenders but are performers of the act denoted by the transitive verb root (e.g. *Ram cut his finger*), (ii) non-human subject which by definition cannot be intenders but *can* potentially be construed as performers of the act denoted by the verb root (e.g. *The storm toppled trees and triggered landslides*) and (iii) human subject which are intenders but not performers of the act denoted by the verb root (e.g. *Ram built seven twenty-storey apartment buildings in Pune*). In Section 5, I will provide a brief description of the so-called non-nominative subject constructions, some of which lean toward the transitive pole and some others that lean towards the intransitive pole. In section 6, I will describe another kind of deviation from the canonical transitive situation wherein only the resultant state of undergoer is formally encoded leaving the intender/performer unexpressed despite being present. Formally these clauses are encoded using intransitive verbs but they are

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[1] http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_Data_Online/Language/Statement1.htm

[2] http://encarta.msn.com/media_701500404/Languages_Spoken_by_More_Than_10_Million_People.html

semantically transitive (involving an actor as well as undergoer). In section 7, I will describe canonical intransitive events involving: (i) intender-cum-performer subject, e.g. *Ram walked to the station*, *The monkey jumped from the tree*, (ii) undergoer subject, e.g. *Ram died/The snow melted*) and (iii) experiencer dative subject, e,g. *Ram burst into laughter*, *Ram got angry*, *Ram became hungry*. Finally, in section 8, I will present a summary and conclusions.

These focal points on the Marathi transitivity spectrum to be described in what follows are summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1: The focal points on the Marathi transitivity spectrum

	Formal encoding	Semantic role of the subject		Example
		Intender	Performer	
A	Transitive	Yes	Yes	*Ram killed Sham.*
B	Transitive	No	Yes	*Ram cut his finger.*
C	Transitive	No	Yes	*The storm toppled trees and triggered landslides.*
D	Transitive	Yes	No	*Ram built seven twenty-storey apartment buildings in Pune.*
E	Transitive	No	No	*Ram liked the girl.*
F	Intransitive	No	No	*The venue of the Olympics was decided.*
G	Intransitive	Yes	Yes	*Ram walked to the station.*
H	Intransitive	No	No	*Ram died / The snow melted.*
I	Intransitive	No	Yes/No??	*Ram burst into laughter / Ram got angry / Ram became hungry.*

2. The morphological relationship between transitive and intransitive verbs in Marathi.

In the lexicon of a language some verbs possess a pair of intransitive verb and semantically/causatively related transitive which shows systematic morphological relationship, e.g. Marathi verb pairs like *dzaL-Ne* (to burn, intransitive) vs. *dzaaL-Ne* (to burn, transitive), *mar-Ne* (to die) vs. *maar-Ne* (to kill), *tuT-Ne* (break, intransitive) vs. *toD-Ne* (to break, transitive), *phuT-Ne* (break, intransitive) vs. *phoD-Ne* (to break, transitive) etc. Others lack either one, e.g. a transitive activity verb like *pheka-Ne* 'throw' lacks a semantically related corresponding intransitive verb as a lexical item

hence a syntactically derived (passive) form such as *pheka-laa dzaa-Ne* 'be thrown' is used whenever necessary. Similarly, an intransitive activity verb like *bas-Ne* 'sit' lacks a semantically related corresponding transitive verb as a lexical item hence a syntactically derived (causative) form such as *bas-aw-Ne* 'seat someone' is used whenever necessary.

With a view to understanding the nature of the verbal lexicon and also the direction of derivation, I prepared a list of the 421 most common verbs in Marathi. Further, I classified the verbs into two groups: those possessing a pair of semantically related transitive and intransitive verb and those which are unpaired. Out of the total 421 verbs, only 68 verbs are paired (i.e. 34 pairs) while 353 verbs are unpaired.

In the group of unpaired verbs, out of 353 verbs 151 are transitive verbs which lack lexical intransitive counterpart, while 129 are intransitives which lack a lexical transitive counterpart. To fill-in the lexical "gap", syntactical way such as passivization is used to derive intransitive verbs in the former case, and causativization is used to derive corresponding transitive verbs in the latter case. In addition to 129 unpaired intransitive verbs which yield causative forms there are 73 unpaired intransitive verbs which do not permit deriving transitive counterpart through causativization.

As for the 68 paired verbs (34 pairs), the morphological relationship between the transitive and the intransitive verb is varied: in 5 pairs the transitive and intransitive are identical in shape (labile, e.g. *ughaD-Ne*, to open), in 8 pairs stem-internal vowel-lengthening is used to derive a transitive from an intransitive (e.g. *mar-Ne* to die vs. *maar-Ne*, to kill), in 2 pairs stem-internal consonant change is used (unvoiced for the intransitive with the corresponding voiced for the transitive, e.g. *phaaT-Ne* 'to tear (intr.)' vs. *phaaD-Ne* 'to tear (tr.)'), in 4 pairs stem internal consonant as well as vowel change is used (*tuT-Ne* (break, intransitive) vs. *toD-Ne* (to break, transitive)), 11 pairs are verbal complexes with N + BECOME as the intransitive and N + DO as the transitive (*band ho-Ne* 'get closed' vs. *band kar-Ne* 'to close'), 4 pairs are instances of suppletion in which there is no obvious morphological relationship between the transitive and the intransitive members of the pair (*nigh-Ne* 'come out' vs. *kaaDh-Ne* 'take out'). The foregoing composition of Marathi verbal lexicon is summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2: The composition of Marathi verbal lexicon (N=421 verbs)

Sample population = 421 verbs	
Paired verbs	Unpaired verbs
68 verbs (34 pairs)	353 verb
Morphological make-up of the paired verbs: 68 (34 pairs)	
Labile	10 verbs (5 pairs)
stem-internal vowel-lengthening	16 verbs (8 pairs)
stem-internal consonant change	4 verbs (2 pairs)
stem-internal vowel-lengthening plus consonant change	8 verbs (4 pairs)
N + BECOME vs. N + DO	22 verbs (11 pairs)
suppletion	8 verbs (4 pairs)
Derivation pattern of the unpaired verbs: 353 verbs	
Transitive yielding intransitive through passivization	151
Intransitive yielding transitive through causativization	129
Intransitive not yielding transitive through causativization	73

Nichols, Peterson and Barnes (2004) classify languages into 4 groups on the basis of whether a language tends to treat intransitives as basic and transitives as derived, vice versa, both or neither and refer to them respectively as "transitivizing", "detransitivizing", "neutral" and "inderminate" languages. From Table 2, it is clear that in Marathi both transitivizing as well as intransitiving patterns are equally dominant hence Marathi can be treated as a "neutral" language with respect to the direction of derivation of verbs.

Notions of markedness or markedness theory have played a crucial role in typological studies in the determination of the basic versus derived category in the case of two or more mutually opposing categories. According to markedness theory the basic category is the one which: (i) occurs more frequently, (ii) is used in contexts where the distinction between it and its competing counterparts gets neutralized, (iii) exhibits a greater degree of formal irregularity, and (iv) can be expressed by zero (if either

member of the pair can be expressed by zero). In order to determine the order of derivation in the pairs of transitive and intransitive verb it is necessary to bring evidence from the above-mentioned points to bear on this issue. This task is beyond the scope of the present paper and I leave it to future research.

3. Canonical transitive events

Canonical transitive events (category A in Table 1) involve an intentionally acting agent subject whose action impinges on the patient object and brings about a change in the state of the object. Such events score high on the 10 parameters of the transitive prototype proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) in that:

(i) They contain two participants (the subject, A and the object, O)

(ii) They involve an action.

(iii) The events are telic (i.e. have a terminal point).

(iv) They are punctual.

(v) The action of the subject is typically volitional.

(vi) They are affirmative.

(vii) The events are realis.

(viii) The subject (A) is high in potency.

(ix) The object (O) is totally affected.

(x) The object (O) is highly individuated.

Typical exemplars of canonical transitive events involve high transitivity verbs like *Thaar maar-Ne* 'kill', *hatyaa kar-Ne* 'murder', *phoD-Ne* 'break', *dzaaL-Ne* 'burn' etc.

(1) *raam-ne* *sham-laa* *Thaar maar.le*
Ram-ERG Sham-ACC KILLED.NSg.
'Ram killed Sham.'

(2) *raam-ne* *naaraL* *phoD.laa*
Ram-ERG coconut.MSgACC BROKE.MSg.
'Ram broke the coconut.'

Events denoted by verbs like *khaa-Ne* 'to eat', *pi-Ne* 'to drink' also satisfy all the parameters of Hopper and Thompson's transitive prototype. However, these verbs behave differently from the high transitivity verbs like *Thaar maar-Ne* 'kill', *hatyaa kar-Ne* 'murder', *phoD-Ne* 'break', *dzaaL-Ne* 'burn' etc. with regard to causativization as demonstrated by Masica (1976) and Pardeshi (2000). The first causative forms of *khaa-Ne* 'to eat', *pi-Ne* 'to drink' (*khaau ghaaL-Ne* 'feed' and *paadz-Ne* 'make drink') are direct and manipulative (like canonical intransitive verbs such as *bas-Ne* 'sit', *paD-Ne* 'fall') in contrast to the first causative forms of *thaar maar-Ne* 'kill', *hatyaa kar-Ne* 'murder', *phoD-Ne* 'break', *dzaaL-Ne* 'burn' (*Thaar maarun ghe-Ne* 'have someone

killed', etc.) which are indirect and directive. Masica (1976: 48) calls verbs such as *khaa-Ne* 'to eat', *pi-Ne* 'to drink' "ingestive" or "semitransitive" verbs and observes that: "[T]he "ingestive" verbs as a group might be regarded as occupying a halfway station between intransitives and transitive." The ingestive verbs, according to Masica (1976: 46) are "a small set of verbs, however, having in common a semantic feature of *taking something into* the body or mind (literally or figuratively)" which includes verbs like *samadz-Ne* 'to understand', *shik-Ne* 'to learn', *aik-Ne* 'to hear', and *bagha-Ne* 'to see' in addition to *khaa-Ne* 'to eat', *pi-Ne* 'to drink'. These verbs are inherently reflexive in nature in that the subject is both agent and recipient of the activity denoted by these verbs.

Andrews (1985: 68) cites 'eat' and 'drink' as "primary transitive verbs" on a par with transitive verbs like 'kill' and 'smash'. Næss (forthcoming) argues that 'eat' and 'drink' are less prototypically transitive verbs since they don't involve "maximally semantically distinct" participants in her words in that the agent subject of 'eat' and 'drink' is also an "affected" argument like the patient object simultaneously. Refining Hopper and Thompson's prototype approach to transitivity Næss (2007a, b) argues that the crucial feature of a canonical transitive clause is the presence of two "maximally semantically distinct" participants in terms of the role they play in the event. This observation is in line with Masica (1976) who establishes a group of "ingestive" or "semi-transitive" verbs as a separate class.

4. Non-canonical transitive events

In this section, as mentioned before, I will describe 3 kinds of deviations from the prototypical transitive situations, namely events described in category B, C and D in Table 1, where transitive verbs can still be used to depict the situations in question.

4.1 Non-intentional human subject transitive events

As argued by Dowty (1991: 572) an agent is a prototypical category comprising a composite of the following properties.

(3) Contributing properties for the Agent Proto-Role:

a. volitional involvement in the event or state

b. sentience (and/or perception)

c. causing an event or change of state in another participant

d. movement (relative to the position of another participant)

e. existence independent of the event named by the verb

Intentionally acting human agents satisfy all of the above properties and hence are conceived as canonical agents. However, in transitive clauses languages also permit less-typical agent-subjects such as non-intentional human and inanimate entities. In this

section I will focus on non-intentional human agent-subject transitive clauses. Note the following examples.

(4) *raam-ne* *paakiT* *harawi.la*
Ram-ERG wallet.NSg. lost.NSg.
'Ram lost his wallet.'

(5) *raam-ne* *haat* *moD-un* *ghet.laa*
Ram-ERG arm.MSg. break-CP took.MSg.
'Ram broke his arm.'

Events like 'losing one's wallet' and 'breaking one's arm' deviate from the canonical transitive prototype in that they involve non-intentional human agents. However, in many languages they may be encoded like canonical transitive events. Teramura (1982), Ikegami (1982), DeLancey (1983, 1984, 1985), Nishimura (1993, 1997), Nishimitsu (2002) argue that in such cases the non-intentional agent-subject is construed to be "responsible" for the outcome of the event and that this motivates transitive encoding. Building on these studies and drawing on insights from a socio-psychological study by Weiner (1995), Pardeshi (2003) explores the relationship between the notion of responsibility and the notion of control. Pardeshi argues that the necessary condition for ascription of responsibility is the recognition of control on the part of the subject over its act and the result thereof. Further, using negative imperative test as a diagnostic, Pardeshi demonstrates that the perception of control varies from one language to another and that this has repercussions for encoding events.

(6) Cross-language variation in the perception of control on the part of the subject over its act and the result thereof

	English	Japanese	Marathi
a.	Don't forget.	are o wasureru nayo	te kaam wisaru nakos
b.	Don't upset your stomach.	onaka o kowasu na	poT bighDawu nakos
c.	Don't wreck your eyes.	me o waruku suru na	DoLe kharaab karu nakos
d.	Don't get a fever.	netsu o dasu na	*taap aaNu nakos
e.	Don't slip.	ashi o suberasu na	*pay ghasarawu nakos
f.	Don't lose your hair.	??kami o herasu na	*kes gaLawu nakos
g.	*Don't have pimples.	*nikibi o dasu na	*murum aaNu nakos

According to Weiner (1995) responsibility can be ascribed only to human (and post-human) entities since they are perceived to exercise control over their acts and the results thereof. In addition to human beings certain inanimate entities are also construed to possess control to which I will turn now.

4.2 Non-human subject transitive events

Inanimate subjects by definition lack properties (a) and (b) of Dowty's agent prototype stated in (3). However, the remaining three properties, namely (c), (d) and (e) can be invoked to explain how some nouns denoting objectively inanimate entities are more likely than others to function as agent-subjects in transitive clauses. Among inanimate entities the following ones are strong candidates for agent-subjecthood.

(7) Strong candidates among inanimates for agent-subjecthood:

a. natural forces and weather phenomena: rain, cold, sun, moon, earthquakes, flood, drought, storm, waves (sea shore)

b. vehicles: cars, trucks, ships, planes, rockets

c. diseases, death, etc.

d. works of art and literature, songs, ragas

The following examples from Marathi illustrate non-human agent-subject transitive clauses.

(8)	awakaaLi	**paawsaa-ne**	sheti.tse	moThe	**nuksaan**	**kele**
	untimely	rain-ERG	agriculture.of	big	loss	did

'Untimely rain has caused a tremendous loss to the agriculture.'

(9)	paacgaNi	parisar-aata-hi	aadz	**thanDi-ne**	paryaTakaan-saha
	Pachgani	area-in.EMPH	today	cold-ERG	tourists-along
	sarwaannaa-ts	**gaarTh-un**	**Taakle**		
	all-EMPH	freeze-CP	throw.PAST.N		

'Today, in Pachgani area as well, the cold freeze everyone including tourists.'

(10)	**suuryaa-ne**	pandhraa	dzun	roji	kharokharits	mithun	raashi-t
	sun-ERG	fifteen	June	on	in fact	Gemini	zodiac sign-in
	pravesh	**kelaa**	aahe				
	entrance	did	be.PRES				

'The sun has really entered the Gemini on the 15th June.'

(11)	**candraa-ne**	suryaa-laa	**gaaTh.le**	ki	aamaawaasyaa	samaapta
	moon-ERG	sun-ACC	reach.NSg.	then	no moon day.	Fsgend
	hote					
	be.HabPres.FSg.					

'When the moon reaches the sun the no moon day comes to an end.'

(12)	**bhukampaa-ne**	40 sekand-aat	kobe shahar	**udhwasta**	**kele**
	earthquake-ERG	40 seconds-in	Kobe city	destroy	did

'The earthquake devastated Kobe city in 40 seconds.

(13) **puraa-ne** dainandin jyanajiwan **wiskaLit** **kar-un** Taak.le
flood-ERG routine public life disrupt do-CP throw.NSg.
'Flood has completely disrupted routine public life.'

(14) **dushkaaLaa-ne** shetkaryaan.naa daaridry.aat **Dhakala.le** aahe
drought-ERG farmers.ACC poverty.in pushed be.Pres.
'The drought has pushed the farmers into poverty.'

(15) yaa **waadaLaa-ne** luizianaa.madhe aatonaat **nukasaan** **kele**
this storm-ERG Louisiana.in tremendous damage did
'This storm has caused tremendous damage in Louisiana.'

(16) sunaami-cyaa **laaTaan-ni** deshaa.cyaa purwa kinaarpaTTi.laa mothaa
Tsunami-of waves-ERG country.of east coast.to big

haadraa **dilaa**
shock.MSg. gave.MSg.

'The Tsunami waves have give a big shock to the east coast of the nation.'

(17) yaa **samudrakinaaryaa-ne** gelyaa 7 warsh.aat 25 dzaNaan.tsaa
this sea shore-ERG past 7 years.in 25 people.of

baLi **ghetlaa** aahe
life.MSg. took.MSg. be.Pres

'This seashore has taken life of 25 people in the past 7 years.'

(18) paalike.cyaa aawaar.aat ubhyaa asalelyaa cyaalakwinaa
municipal corporation.of premises.in stand be.Ptcpl driver-less

gaaDi-ne acaanak start ghetlaa aaNi samora.cyaa
vehicle-ERG suddenly start took and in front.of

sheD-laa dhaDak maar-un shed-tse **nuksaan** **kele**
shed-to dash strike-CP shed-os damage did

'The driver-less vehicle parked in the premises of the municipal corporation started all of a sudden and damaged the shed in front by dashing into it.'

(19) iraak-cyaa phaayaTar **wimaanaa-ne** amerike-cyaa dzahaadzaa-war
Iraq-of fighter plane-ERG America-of ship-on

hallaa **kelaa**
attack did

'The Iraqi fighter plane attacked the American ship.'

(20) bhardhaaw **trak/kaar-ne** 5 dzaNaan-naa **chiraDa.le**
high speed truck/car-ERG 5 people-ACC crushed.NSg.
'A high speed truck/car crushed 5 people.'

(21) **pleg-ne** tyaacyaa patnii-tsaa **baLi** **ghetlaa** hotaa
plague-ERG his wife-of prey took was
'Plague has taken away his wife's life.'

(22) **mrutyu-ne** tyaacyaa.war **ghaalaa ghaatlaa**
death-ERG him.on assault put
'Death has assaulted him.'

(23) **tyaa** **citraa-ne** dzunyaa aaThwaNin.naa **udzaaLaa** **dilaa**
that painting-ERG old memories.ACC shine gave
'That painting refreshed/brushed up old memories.'

(24) **yaa** **kawite-ne**malaa jagaNyaa-ci nawi bhaashaa shikawili
this poem-ERG I.DAT living-GEN new language taught
'This poem taught me a new language/way of living life.'

(25) **tyaa** **suraan-ni** maadzhyaa aayushyaat **kraanti** **ghaDawili**
those musical notes-ERG my life revolution brought about
'Those musical notes brought about a revolution in my life.'

Hook, Pardeshi and Miyake (2008) argue that there is a fifth category of inanimate agent-subject that fails on the first four, sometimes on all five of the properties listed by Dowty (cf. (3)). These are abstract nouns denoting events, activities, processes, states; nouns like *struggle, demand, project, campaign, preparation,* etc.:

(26) sattaadhaari pakSha aaNi wirodhi pakShaa-madhil sangharshaa-ne
ruling party and opposition party-between conflict-ERG

hinsaka waLaNa ghet.le
violent turn.NSg. took.NSg.

'The conflict between the ruling party and the opposition party took a violent turn.'

(27) baryaa-ts varShaa-nantar yaa maagNi-ne dzor dhar-laa
many-Emphyears-after this demand-Erg strength pick.up-Pst
'Many years later this demand gained strength.'

(28) prakalpaa-ne aaakaar ghyaaylaa suruwat keli aahe
Project-ERG shape take.Ptcpl start.FSg. did.FSg. be.Pres
'The project has started taking shape.'

Hook, Pardeshi and Miyake's explanation for the ability of such abstract nouns to function as agent-subjects in transitive clauses turns on the notion of their being enabled to do so by second-order predicates: Predicates like *take a violent turn, pick up strength, take shape* do not themselves directly denote actions, processes, or states of affairs in the real world. Rather, like verbs of phase (*begin, continue, stop,* etc), they denote changes in actions, processes, and states in the real world. Thus, their meanings are secondary and presuppose the presence of primary actions, processes, or states. These primary actions, processes, or states in turn are expressed as nominalizations like *struggle, demand, project, campaign, preparation,* etc.

4.3 Non-performer human subject transitive events

Languages often allow use of transitive verbs in situations where the subject does not perform the act denoted by verb in question by himself but simply instigates it. A typical case is the verb 'build' in a sentence like '*I build a new house*' wherein the subject does not build the house himself but gets it built through a building contractor. Precisely speaking, these are cases of 'indirect causation' wherein the subject (the causer) employs an agency (the causee) to perform the act denoted by the verb. However, the causee is not encoded in the clause.

Ikegami (1982) argues at length that Japanese is far more liberal in allowing 'indirect causation' interpretation (in addition to 'direct causation' interpretation wherein the subject is the intender as well as performer of the act) than English in sentences such as '*John built a new house*', '*John cut his hair*', '*John repaired his watch*', '*Mary made a new dress*', '*John pulled his tooth out*', '*Mary fixed her glasses*' etc. Ikegami proposes two 'pragmatic' factors which facilitate the indirect causation interpretation, namely (i) technical difficulty involved in carrying out the task and (ii) the authority with which the subject is vested (Ikegami 1982: 98-99). According to Ikegami, the former explains the difference in interpretation between (29a) and (29b) while the latter explains that between (30a) and (30b).

(29) a. *I fixed my glasses.*

b. *I fitted my glasses.*

(30) a. *John painted the room white.*

b. *The President of the University painted the tower brown.*

Example (29b) has a greater possibility of being interpreted as a case of indirect causation than (29a) since fitting the pairs of glasses is construed to involve greater technical skills than fixing the pairs of glasses. Similarly (30b) has a greater possibility of being interpreted as a case of indirect causation than (30a) since in that the subject of (30b) is readily construed as being vested with sufficient authority to get the action denoted by the verb done through someone other than the subject of (30a).

In Marathi, situations like 'build a new house', 'pull out one's tooth', 'make a new dress/jewelry', are encoded as transitive clauses and typically interpreted as the cases of indirect causation.

(31) *raam-ne banglaa baandh.laa*
Ram-ERGbungalow.MSg built.MSg.
Lit. 'Ram built a bungalow.'
'Ram got the bungalow built (through the contractor).'

(32) *raam-ne daaDh kaaDh.li*
Ram-ERGmolar tooth.FSg. took out.FSg
Lit. 'Ram took out his molar tooth.'
'Ram go this molar tooth pulled out (from a dentist).'

(33) *raam-ne baayko-laa nekles banawi.la*
Ram-ERG wife-DAT necklace.NSg. made.NSg.
Lit. 'Ram made a necklace for his wife.'
'Ram got the necklace made (through the goldsmith) for his wife.'

The cases like 'cut one's hair', 'fix one's glasses' are potentially ambiguous between direct causation and indirect causation readings arguably due to less technical skills involved in executing them.

(34) *raam-ne cyashmaa durusta kelaa*
Ram-ERG glasses.MSG repair did.MSg.
'Ram repaired his glasses.'
'Ram got his glasses repaired (by an optician).'

(35) *raam-ne kes kaap.le*
Ram-ERG hair.N.Pl cut.N.Pl
'Ram cut his hair.'
'Ram got his hair cut (by the barber).'

The notion of authority is also operative. Events involving subjects vested with authority like "King Shahajahan" or "the municipal corporation" are predominantly interpreted as indirect causation as shown in the following examples.

(36) *shahaajyahaan-ne taajmahaal baandh.laa*
Shahajahan-ERG Taj Mahal.MSg built.MSg
'Shahajahan built Taj Mahal.'

(37) *mahaanagarpaalike-ne dzhopaDpaTTi haTaw.li*
municipal corporation-ERG slum.FSg remove.FSg
'The municipal corporation demolished the slum.'

5. Non-nominative subject construction

In most of the South Asian languages certain types of predicates such as those expressing psychological and physiological experience, necessity, want, desire, possession etc. take a non-nominative subject. The subject lacks intentionality/control and bears the semantic role of an experience hence such constructions are also known as experiencer subject construction. On the transitivity of these constructions scholars are divided: Gair (1990) and Masica (1991) treat them as transitive while Jayseelan (2001), Amritavalli (2001), Shibatani & Pardeshi (2001) treat them to be intransitive. Pardeshi (2004) argues that these constructions cannot be analyzed in a polar fashion but rather need to be analyzed in a scalar way. Let us first take a look at the constructions which can be ranked on the higher side of the transitivity scale.

(38) raam-laa ti mulgi pasant paD.li
Ram-DAT that girl.FSg.choice fell.FSg.
'Ram liked that girl.'

(39) raam-laa ishaaraa samadza.laa
Ram-DAT sign.MSg. understood.MSg.
'Ram understood that sign.'

(40) raam-laa to tsaaku saapaD.laa
Ram-DAT that knife.MSg. found.MSg.
'Ram found that knife.'

The events depicted in (38)-(40) involve two distinct participants with the object (P) high in individuation, and the action telic, punctual, affirmative, and realis. The subject (A) is low in potency and lacks volition, the object (P) is not affected, and the event is low in kinesis. Examples (38) and (39) have a clearly transitive alternate as well as shown in (41) and (42) respectively.

(41) raam-ne ti mulgi pasant keli
Ram-ERG that girl.FSg. choice did.FSg.
'Ram liked that girl.'

(42) raam ishaaraa samadza.laa
Ram.NOM sign.MSg. understood.MSg.
'Ram understood the sign.'

Compare these examples with the following.

(43) raam-laa {taap/phoD/kanTaaLaa/thakwaa} aa.laa
Ram-DAT {fever/blister/boredom/tiredness}MSg. came.MSg.
Lit. To Ram {fever/blister/boredom/tiredness} came.

(44) raam-laa {tahaan/bhuk/utski/laghwi} lag.li
Ram-DAT {thirst/hunger/hiccough/urine}.FSg. struck.FSg.
Lit. To Ram, {thirst/hunger/hiccough/urine} struck.

(45) raam-laa {sardi/kaawiL} dzhaa.li
Ram-DAT {cold/jaundice}.FSg. became.FSg.
Lit. To Ram, {cold/jaundice} became.

The events depicted in (43)-(45) involve only one participant, namely the subject. The preverbal noun and the verb form a complex predicate. The event is telic, punctual, affirmative, and realis. The subject (A) is low in potency and lacks volition and the event is low in kinesis. Most of (43)-(45) have clear intransitive alternates as well.

(46) raam kanTaaL.laa/thaklaa
Ram.MSg. bored.MSg./got tired.MSg.
'Ram got bored/tired.'

(47) raam tahaanlelaa dzhaalaa
Ram.MSg. thirsty.MSg became.MSg.
'Ram became thirsty.'

On comparing examples (38)-(40) with those in (43)-(45) it is clear that the former lean more toward transitive pole than the latter. I treat (38)-(40) as non-canonical transitive.

6. Invisible actor intransitive events

As reported in Pardeshi (2007), agent-implying intransitive constructions (aka invisible actor intransitive constructions) are widely used in South Asian languages. Such constructions involve morphologically simplex intransitive verbs as well as morphologically complex intransitive verbs comprising {Action Noun/Predicative Adjective implying agency + light verb}. In most cases the light verb is "BECOME" but in some cases other light verbs (such as "stay", "come", etc.) are used. The capped gloss BECOME is used as a cover term for the verbs occupying the light verb slot. Morphologically simplex agent-implying intransitive verbs are few in number while morphologically complex agent-implying intransitive verbs form a substantial class. Typical examples in Marathi of both types are illustrated below.

(48) Morphologically simplex agent-implying intransitive verbs in Marathi

TharNe (be decide), *pohotsaNe* (be delivered/reach), *saapaDNe* (be found), etc.

(49) Morphologically complex agent-implying intransitive verbs in Marathi

- *{aTak/shikshaa/karvaai/hakaalpaTTi/padonnati}+hone*

  {arrest/punishment/action/expulsion/promotion}+BECOME
- *{stuti/nindaa/apmaan/Tikaa/satkaar}+hoNe*

  {praise/criticism/insult/criticism/felicitation}+BECOME
- *{niwaD/nemNuk/badli/padaanvati/pramoshan}+hoNe*

  {selection/appointment/transfer/demotion/promotion}+BECOME
- *{radda/raakhiv/nirNay/Tharaav/badal/suTkaa}+hoNe*

  {cancelled/reserved/decision/change/release}+BECOME
- *ubh-{aa/i/e} hoNe/rahaaNe* (lit. upright become/stay, "be built, have come up")

A few representative full sentence examples of the verbs in (48) and (49) are given below.

(50)

shukravaari	sandhyaakaaLi	5	waadztaa	nighaaytse	Tharale
Friday	evening	5	O'clock	leave.of	got decided

'It was decided to leave at 5 O'clock on Friday.'

(51) waraLi si phes yethe saanDapaaNi samudraat soDaNaaryaa
Warali Sea Face here waste water sea.in leaving

gaTaaraacyaa mukhaa-war-tsa don Tolejanga imarati
drainage.GEN.Obl face-on-EMPH two sky scraper buildings

ubhyaa raahilyaa aahet
standstayed be.PRES.PL

'At Worli Sea Face, two skyscraper buildings have come up right in front of a drainage which pours waste water into the sea.'

(52) bomb-sphoT khaTalyaat sanjay datta-laa sahaa warshaa-chi
bomb-blast case.in Sanjay Dutt-to six years-of.F

sakta-madzuri-ci shikshaa dzhaali
hard-labour-of.F punishment.F become.F

'In the bombing case Sanjay Dutt was given a punishment of 6 years of hard labour.'

Similar expressions are widely attested in other South Asian languages as well. All of the agent-implying intransitive (BECOME-type) expressions listed above possess a corresponding agentive transitive counterpart (referred to as DO-type) which yields a canonical passive expression. I will present examples of all three of these related expressions from Marathi. The first example is a transitive (arrest+DO), the second one is a passive (arrest+DO+PASSIVE MARKER), and the third one is an agent-implying intransitive (BECOME-type) expression (arrest+BECOME).

(53) *(polis-aan-ni) sahaa-dzaNaan-cyaa ToLi-laa **aTak** **keli**
police-PL-ERG six-people-Gen.M gang.M-ACC arrest.F did.F.Sg
'The police arrested a gang of six people.'

(54) (polis-aan-kaDun) sahaa-dzaNaan-cyaa ToLi-laa **aTak** **keli**
police-PL-by six-people-Gen.M gang.M-ACC arrest.F did.F.Sg

geli
went.F.Sg.

'A gang of six people was arrested by the police.'

(55) (*polis-aan-kaDun) sahaa-dzaNaan-cyaa ToLi-laa **aTak** **dzhaali**
police-PL-by six-people-Gen.M gang.M-ACC arrest.F becsme.F.SG
'A gang of six people was arrested.'

Canonical passive expression in (54) and an agent-implying intransitive (BECOME-type) expression in (55) are semantically alike in that both contain a "non-agent" subject. They differ from each other, however, in terms of overt encoding of the agent: while GO passive constructions are felicitous in the presence of the agent (albeit oblique), BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction do not permit the presence of an agent. In the transitive counterpart the agent appears as an obligatory

argument (subject) which cannot be omitted (cf. (53)). On comparing the BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction in (55) with the active transitive construction in (53) it is clear that: (i) functionally, (55) defocuses the agent noun phrase; (ii) semantically, the valency of the situation expressed by the verb in (55) is two which is the same as for its active counterpart in (53); (iii) syntactically, the valency of the verb in (55) as compared to its active counterpart in (53) is less by one; and (iv) morphologically, the predicate in (55) is distinct from its corresponding active counterpart in (53). From these facts it is clear that the BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction in (55) satisfies all the criteria for defining the passive prototype as proposed by Shibatani (1985: 837). In view of this correspondence Pardeshi (2008) regards the BECOME-type invisible agent intransitive construction as a bona fide quasi-passive construction and calls it the BECOME passive.

7. Canonical intransitive events

The division of intransitive verbs into two groups on the basis of volition/intention/control on the part of the subject is widely known. The subject of volitional intransitive verb (unergative) is unambiguously intender as well as performer of the act denoted by the verb. The subject of non-volitional intransitive verb (unaccusative) is unequivocally a non-intender and a non-performer as well in the strict sense of the term. Based on the semantic role of the subject of non-volitional intransitive verbs I will sub-classify them into two groups: undergoer subject and experience subject. In Marathi the former takes nominative case while the latter takes dative.

7.1 Intender subject intransitive events (unergative)

These intransitive verbs take an intender as well as performer subject which is typically animate. In Marathi the subject is marked with nominative (zero).

(56) sitaa khurchi-war bas.li
Sita.F.Sg. chair-on sit.FSg.
'Sita sat on the chair.'

(57) sitaa mumbai-laa ge.li
Sita.F.Sg. Mumbai-to went.FSg.
'Sita went to Mumbai.'

(58) pakshii uDaa.laa
Bird.MSg. flew. MSg.
'The bird flew away.'

Non-typical agents such as inanimate potent entities, although not intender can occupy the subject slot.

(59) relwe sTeshan-madh-unnighaa.li
train.FSg. station-in-from set out.FSg.
'The train set out of the station.'

7.2 Undergoer subject intransitive events (unaccusative)

These intransitive verbs take a undergoer subject which can be animate or inanimate. In Marathi the undergoer subject is marked with nominative (zero).

(60) raam khaDDyaa-t paD.laa
Ram.MSg. ditch-in fell.MSg.
'Ram fell in a ditch.'

(61) dzhaaDaa-ci phaandi tuT.li
tree-of branch.FSg. broke.FSg.
'The branch of the tree broke.'

(62) barpha witaLa.la
ice/snow.NSg. melted.NSg.
'The ice/snow melted.'

7.3 Experiencer subject intransitive events (unaccusative)

These intransitive verbs take an experiencer subject which is typically animate. In Marathi the experiencer subject is marked with dative case. Examples (43), (44), (45), repeated below as (63), (64), (65) are typical examples of this category.

(63) raam-laa {taap/phoD/kanTaaLaa/thakwaa} aa.laa
Ram-DAT {fever/blister/boredom/tiredness}MSg. came.MSg.
Lit. To Ram {fever/blister/boredom/tiredness} came.

(64) raam-laa {tahaan/bhuk/utski/laghwi} lag.li
Ram-DAT {thirst/hunger/hiccough/urine}.FSg. struck.FSg.
Lit. To Ram, {thirst/hunger/hiccough/urine}struck.

(65) raam-laa {sardi/kaawiL} dzhaa.li
Ram-DAT {cold/jaundice}.FSg. became.FSg.
Lit. To Ram, {cold/jaundice}became.

The subject in these cases is non-volitional. Some verbs like *laugh*, *cry*, *sneeze*, and *cough* can take dative as well as nominative subject depending on whether the act is spontaneous/non-intentional or intentional. Note the contrast in the following examples.

(66) a. raam-laa (*muddaam) hasu/raDu aa.la
Ram-DAT purposely laughter/cry.N.Sg. came.NSg
Lit. 'To Ram, laughter/cry came (*purposely).'
'Ram burst into laughter/tears.'

b. raam (muddaam) has.laa/raD.laa
Ram.MSg. purposely laugh.MSg./cry-MSg.
'Ram laughed/cried (purposely).'

(67) a.	sitaa-laa	(*muddaam)	khoklaa	aa.laa
	Sita.FSg.-DAT	purposely	cough.MSg.	came.MSg.

Lit. 'To Sita, cough came (*purposely)' 'Sita coughed (spontaneously).'

b.	sitaa	(muddaam)	khok.li
	Sita.F.Sg.	purposely	coughed.FSg.

'Ram coughed purposely.'

(68) a.	raam-laa	(*muddaam)	shink	aa.li
	Ram.MSg.-DAT	purposely	sneeze.FSg.	came.FSg.

Lit. 'To Ram, sneeze came (*purposely).'
'Ram sneezed (spontaneously).'

b.	raam	(muddaam)	shink.laa
	Ram.MSg.	purposely	sneezed.MSg.

'Ram sneezed (purposely).'

Although experiencers are typically animate, we may have to allow intransitive 'experiencers', too as shown in following examples (Examples brought to my attention by Peter Hook).

(69)	bhaarataa-laa	barets	yash	miLaale
	India-DAT	considerable	success.NSg.	got.NSg.

'India got considerable success.'

(70)	pruthvi-laa	tis	ansh	phiraaylaa	don	taas	laagtaat
	earth-DAT	30	degrees	for rotating	2	hours.MPl.	require.MPl

'It takes two hours for the earth to rotate 30 degrees.'

(71)	gaaDi-laa	bazaar-peTh	miL-Naar	aahe
	car-DAT	market.FSg.	get-PTCPL	be.Pres

'The car will get market.'

8. Summary

In this paper, adopting the prototypical or scalar interpretation of transitivity I presented a comprehensive descriptive account of the spectrum of transitivity in Marathi. Dwelling at length on the non-canonical cases I demonstrated how the transitive pattern is extended to non-canonical cases some of which (especially the invisible agent intransitive construction) lack counterparts in English. I also dealt with semi-transitive or ingestive verbs as well as predicates taking experience subject. In Marathi intentionality/control plays a crucial role in the case marking of the subject in the case of transitive as well as intransitive events.

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Oriya: A Confluence of Aryan, Dravidian, And Munda

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1. Introduction

Oriya, a scheduled language of India, is the dominant language of the state of Orissa which covers an area of 155707 km^2. It occupies a strategic position in the sense that it falls in the transitional zone between the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian speaking areas and a lot of Munda languages are also spoken in Orissa. It has been unanimously accepted as the eldest member in the eastern branch of New Indo-Aryan group which consists of Assamese and Bengali besides Oriya. The word Oriya, pronounced /oRia/, in all probability has been derived from a Dravidian source which is retained as /oTTan/ in Tamil. The meaning of this word is 'a delving labourer' and the Oriyas are famous for this work even today.

So far as the population of Orissa concerned, it has increased by almost 180% in the last three decades. The following Indian census data show how this increase has taken place from 1961 to 1991 with the break-up of males and females:

Year	Population
1961	Persons : 1,75,48,846 Male : 87,70,586 Female : 87,78,260
1971	Persons : 2,19,44,615 Male : 1,10,41,083 Female : 1,09,03,532
1981	Persons : 2,63,70,271 Male : 1,33,09,786 Female : 1,30,60,485
1991	Persons : 3,15,12,070 Male : 1,59,79,904 Female : 1,55,32,166

2. Sociolinguistic Aspects

Oriya has four clearly identified regional dialects, i.e. southern, northern, western and standard. The southern dialect is spoken in the part of Orissa which is close to Andhra Pradesh. The northern dialect is spoken in the areas close to West Bengal and the Western dialect, in the area close to Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. The dialect spoken

in central Orissa, i.e. mainly in the districts of Cuttack, Jajpur, Khurda and Puri, is considered to be the standard one. It should be pointed out here that this area has been quite important from the social, cultural and political view-points for more than a millenium. To be precise, the capital of the erstwhile Kalinga or Utkal has been in one the following towns, i.e. Jajpur, Khurda, Prui and Cuttack. Now Bhubaneswar is the capital of Orissa. Again, all the extant Oriya literary texts right from *Sarala Mahabharata* written in the 15th century A.D. are found to have been written in the dialect spoken in this area. For these reasons, Modern Standard Oriya also has its base in the speech of the upper and middle classes of the above said places.

The differences between the varieties used by the upper and middle classes on the one hand and the lower class on the other are not very significant. They are primarily phonological. For example, the retroflex lateral /L/ is replaced by /r/ in the speech of the lower class people. As a result, they say /caurO/ for the standard /cauLO/ 'rice'. But it must be noted here that this is noticed in the speech of the older generation. The younger generation speakers use /L/ like the upper and middle classes most probably due to formal school education.

The literary rate has almost doubled in the last three decades. The number of literates was 21.66% in 1961 whereas it is 40.97% in 1991. Oriya is the language of wider communication in the state of Orissa, and it is used in almost all the domains barring a few, like higher education. But the Oriyas are quite adaptable so far as language use is concerned. Wherever possible, they try to speak to people from other states in the latter's language. For this reason, other language speakers, who stay in Orissa for years, can afford to live happily without learning Oriya. All these have made Oriya a weak language, and it is shrinking from various domains of use gradually.

Though Orissa was made the first linguistic state in India as back as in 1936 and Oriya became the first language to get the official language status in a state as back as in 1954, English continued as the official language of Orissa until 1985. Oriya was adopted for use in the Govt. offices only from April 1, 1985. According to the available information, even today it is not used properly in the Govt. offices in the state.

However, after having decided that Oriya will be used in all Govt. offices from April 1, 1985, the then Govt. of Orissa employed people to prepare glossaries as a measure for corpus planning. But the glossary makers seem not to have followed any principle while making them. We can take examples from *prOsasOnikO sObdOkosO* or Administrative Glossary published in 1984. There are instances where one Oriya equivalent has been used for more than one English term in this glossary. For example, /sObhapati/ has been given as an equivalent for 'chairman' and 'president' both. Likewise, there are a lot of English terms each one of which has more than tone equivalent without specifying the contexts in which they are to be used. For example, 'future' has three Oriya equivalents like /bhObisyOtO/, /asOnta/ literally meaning 'coming' and /bajida/, which is beyond comprehension even on the part of an formally educated Oriya. This is one of the reasons for which these terms could not gain acceptability among the users.

3. Genetic Relationship

Oriya belongs to the eastern group of New Indo-Aryan or Magadhan group of languages. Assamese and Bengali are its sisters, and it is believed to have branched off first as a separate language from the proto-Oriya-Assemese-Bengali parent seem time in the 10th century A.D. Because of its continuous and close contact with Dravidian and Munda languages, it shows a lot of Dravidian and Munda elements in its vocabulary and structure. For example, the very frequently used /pila/ 'child', /gina/ 'a small metal container', /kuT-/ 'to pound' are originally Dravidian; and /kaLO/ 'famine', /cauLO/ 'rice', /kalO/ 'deaf', /raNDO/ 'widow', /koRie/ 'twenty' are originally Munda.

The best way to show its relationship with both Dravidian and Munda is to take the equational sentences used in it. Its equational sentences can be verbless like Dravidian. For example:

(1) se mo sangO
he my friend
'He is my friend.'

If at all the be-verb is used in such a construction, it must be in the middle of a sentence. In other words, when the be-verb is overtly present, such a sentence will be obligatory verb-medial. For example:

(2) se hela mo sangO
he be+past+3rd sg my friend
'He is my friend.'

If the be-verb is moved to the sentence-final position, the meaning of the sentence will change.

(3) se mo sangO hela
he my friend be+past+3rd sg
'He became my friend'.

4. Typological Aspects

From the morphological typological point of view, Oriya is predominantly an agglutinating language though its parent Sanskrit was inflectional. The following example is illustrative:

(4) se-mane ghOrO-ku ja-u-chO-nti
he pl. home to go prog. pres asp tense 3rd pl.
'They are going home.'

But syntactic ally speaking, Oriya belongs to the SOV type of languages. Though change of word-order is allowed in it, the unmarked order is SOV, and (4) exemplifies this.

It also exhibits most of the typological features which are characteristic of the South Asian languages. Let us discuss some of them in what follows.

It has morphological causatives which are derived from non-causative roots by adding the causative morpheme /-a-/. For example:

(9)	kOr-	'to do'	kOr-a-	'to cause to do'
	hOs-	'to laugh'	hOs-a-	'to cause to laugh'
	uTh-	'to get up'	uTh-a-	'to cause to get up'
	pi-	'to drink'	pi-a-	'to cause to drink'
	aN-	'to bring'	ON-a-	'to cause to bring'

The point to be noted here is that as Oriya does not allow the occurrence of /a/ in two consecutive syllable, the root-vowel /a/ changes to /O/ when followed by the causative /-a-/. For this reason, /aN-/ 'to bring' becomes /ON-a-/ 'to cause to bring'.

It is a general rule in Oriya that /a/ occurring in the non-initial position of a word will become /e/ and /o~O/ when it is followed by /i/ and /u/ respectively. Following this rule, the causative /-a-/ also changes to /e/ and /o~O/ when it precedes /i/ and /u/ respectively. For example:

(5) se hOse
he laughs
'He laughs.'

(6) mũ taku hOsae
I him cause to laugh
'I make him laugh.'

(7) mũ taku hOseili
I him caused to laugh
'I made him laugh.'

(8) mũ taku hOseithili
I him had caused to laugh
'I had made him laugh.'

(9) mũ taku hOs-o~O-uthili
I him was causing to laugh
'I was making him laugh.'

Then unlike Hindi, Oriya does not have the second causatives. The existing causative is used to express second order causation also. For example:

(10) se dudhO pie
he milk drinks
'He drinks milk.'

(11) mũ taku dudhO piae
I him milk cause to drink
'I cause him to drink milk.'

(12) mũ cakOrO hatOre taku dudhO piae
I servant in hands him milk cause to drink
'I cause him to drink milk by the servant.'

Here /pi-a-/ the causative of /pi-/ 'to drink' expresses regular causation in (11) and second order causation in (12). However, there are some verb roots like /ja-/ 'to go' and /as-/ 'to come' which cannot be transformed into causative stems by adding the causative marker /-a-/.

Conjunctive participles are very commonly used in Oriya. For example:

(13) mũ gadhei, khai bOjarO gOli
I having bathed, eaten market went
'I went to market after having bathed and eaten.'

Compound verbs are quite commonly used in Oriya. In such a construction, the polar or main verb can take minimum one and maximum four vectors or explicators. For example:

(14) bidhu kali caligOla
Bidhu yesterday walk+went
'Bidhu went away yesterday.'

(15) se e sObu dekhideijaithaipare
he all these see+given+go+be+can
'He might have seen all these.'

Notice here that in (14) the polar /cal-/ 'to walk' has only one vector /gOla/ 'went' whereas in (15) the polar /dekh-/ 'to see' has four vectors like /de-/ 'to give', /ja-/ 'to go', /tha-/ 'to be' and /par-/ 'to be capable of'.

Oriya uses the experiencer subject construction quite commonly. What is significant about this construction in Oriya is that though in most cases it takes the so-called 'dative' marker /-ku/ like the Dravidian languages, there are cases where it takes the genitive /rO/ like Bengali. The following examples are illustrative:

(16) ta-ku jOrO heichi
he (obl.)–dat. fever has become
'He has fever.'

(17) ta-rO peTO kaTuchi
he(obl.)–gen. belly is paining
'He has stomach-ache.'

Again, there are instances which take both /-ku/ and /-rO/. For example:

(18) ta-ku lajO nahi
he(obl.)–dat. shame is not
'He does not have shame.'

(19) ta-rO lajO nahi
he(obl.)–gen. shame is not
'He does not have shame.'

5. Structure

5.1. Phonology

Oriya has six vowels /i, e, a, O, o, u/, out of which /o/ does not occur in the word-final position at all except in the monosyllabic verb-roots and /e/ cannot occur word finally in monomorphemic words barring the monosyllabic verb-roots. All these vowels except /o/, the most restricted vowel in the language, have nasalized counterparts. Like the Munda languages, vowel length is not significant in this language. However, in one specific environment it is found in Oriya and its distribution is allophonic, e.g. /tu bOOs/ 'you (non-hon.) sit'; but /tume bOsO/ 'you (semi-hon.) sit'.

The stops Oriya has are /p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, T, Th, D, Dh, k, kh, g, gh/. Out of these, only /d/ and /dh/ each has an allophone, i.e. /R/ and /Rh/ respectively, when they occur in an intervocalic environment, which does not include a morpheme boundary and in the word-final position. For example:

(20)	DOba	'a small container'	baRO	'fence'
	Dheu	'wave'	piRha	'a wooden seat'
	pOR-	'to fall down'	pORh-	'to read'

There are four affricates, i.e. /c, ch, j, jh/, two fricatives, i.e. /s/ and /h/, three nasals /m, n, N/, two semivowels /w, y/ two laterals /l, L/ and a trill /r/. Out of these, only /N/ and /L/ cannot occur in the word-initial position.

5.2. Morphology

All Oriya nouns are inflected for number and case. Only human nouns are inflected for gender, and /-Ni/ is the most productive feminine gender suffix which is used to form a feminine stem from a masculine one. For example:

(21)	corO	'a thief'	corONi	'a woman thief'
	DaktOr	'a doctor'	DaktOraNi	'a lady doctor'
	mehentOrO	'a scavanger'	mehentOraNi	'woman scavanger'.

But gender has no role to play in Oriya grammar. In other words, unlike Hindi, Oriya does not exhibit gender agreement between the subject and the verb and also between the head noun and its modifier, except optionally when the adjectives refer to physiological properties like tallness, fatness, and fair-complexion, etc. For example:

(22) bhOlO puO bhOlO jhiO
good boy good girl

sundOrO puO sundOrO/ sundOri jhiO
handsome boy beautiful girl

Notice here that /bhOlO/ 'good' remains unchanged whether it is /puO/ or /jhiO/. But /sundOrO/ 'handsome' can optionally become feminine /sundOri/ 'beautiful' if the head noun is feminine; here /jhiO/ 'girl'.

Coming back to number and case, there are two numbers and three cases in Oriya. Let us discuss them now.

The two numbers Oriya has are singular and plural. The plural is formed normally by adding /-mane/ to human nouns and /-guRa/ to non-human nouns. For example:

(23)	pila	'a boy'	pilamane	'boys'
	lokO	'a man'	lokOmane	'men'
	sapO	'a snake'	sapOguRa	'snakes'
	gOchO	'a tree'	gOchOguRa	'trees'

Thus, /-mane/ and /-guRa/ function as classifiers. Of course, sometimes /-mane/ is used with respectable non-humans, e.g. /gai/ 'a cow' and /gaimane/ 'cows' and /-guRa/, with humans to express contempt, e.g. /pila/ 'a boy' and /pilaguRa/ 'boys (contemptuously)'. Again, when a numeral is used to modify a noun, a classifier should ideally be attached to the former. For example:

(24)	di-Ta	gai	di-jONO	lokO
	two-CL	cows	two-CL	men

It must be pointed out here that whenever there is a numeral expressing plurality modifies a noun, the latter does not take the plural form in Oriya, unlike in Hindi and in the Dravidian languages. That is why in (24) /gai/ and /lokO/ are in the singular form whereas these must in the plural form in Hindi and Telugu, e.g. /do bacce/ and /iddaru pillalu/ respectively. Notice here that /bacce/ and /pillalu/ are plural. This is undoubtedly a Munda characteristic retained in Oriya. Another important point to be mentioned is that /-guRa/ was not there in early Oriya. Its use is sporadically noticed in the first major work in Oriya *SaraLa Mahabharata* of 15th century. I claim it to be a Dravidian suffix whose cognates are /kaL~gaL/ used commonly in languages like Tamil and Malayalam. The presence of plurality indicating words /mOnda/ and /pOlO/, which are also from Dravidian, strengthens this claim.

It is interesting that Oriya shows plural number agreement between the subject and the verb of a sentence only when the former is [+animate]. If the subject is [-animate] the verb remains unchanged. For example:

(25) jONe lokO jauchi
CL-one man is going
'A man is going.'

(26) dijONO lokO jauchOnti
two-CL man are going
'Two men are going.'

But

(27) karTe jauchi
car-CL (sg.) is going
'A car is going.'

(28) karguRa jauchi
car-CL (pl.) is going
'Cars are going.'

In this respect also Oriya exhibits affinity with Munda.

Oriya has three cases, i.e. nominative, objective and oblique. Only plural animate nouns and pronouns including the honorific ones show the use of all these three cases. For instances, from /pila/ 'a boy' we can have the nominative plural /pilamane/ 'boys'. In the objective case it is /pilamanOn-ku/ 'to the boys' and oblique form is /pilamanOn-kO/. All other case markers or postpositions are added to this oblique form only. For example:

(29) pilamanOnkO-dei	'by the boys'
pilamanOnkO-Tharu	'from the boys'
pilamanOnkO-rO	'of the boys'

Verbs in Oriya are of two types, i.e. finite and non-finite. The finite verbs are inflected for aspect, tense and person-number, in this order. T here are two aspects, i.e. imperfective /-u-/ and perfective /-i-/. The point to be noted here is that when both these markers are used they are concomitantly followed by the auxiliary verb /~ch~-/ in the present tense or its variant /tha ~ thi/ in all the three other tenses, i.e. past represented by /-il ~ l/, future represented by /-ib ~ b/, and conditional represented by /- nt ~ nt/. It is difficult to distinguish between person and number, and the same marker is used to refer to both in Oriya. Hence, person and number have been taken as one category. However, the most important and the defining category of finite verbs in Oriya is person-number, because it is obligatorily and overtly present in any finite verb. For example:

(30) mũ bhatO khae
I rice eat+1st p+sg.
'I eat rice.'

Here the finite verb /khae/ has the root /kha-/ and the first person-singular number marker /-e/.

Another important aspect of this person-number inflection is that it shows the inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural, which is a characteristic of the Dravidian languages. For example:

(31) ame khauche
we are eating (inclusive)
'We (including the hearer/s) are eating.'

(32) ame khauchu
we are eating (exclusive)
'We (excluding the hearer/s) are eating.'

The non-finite verbs in Oriya are formed by adding the following suffixes to different verb-roots, i.e. /-i/, /-u/, /-e/, /-uNu/. Let us discuss these one by one.

Suffix /-i/ : Verbs with this suffix are called conjunctive participles discussed in the section 4 above. Consider the following example:

(33) se bhatO kha-i skulku gOla
he rice eat-nonfin. to school went
'Having eaten rice, he went to school.'

Suffix /-u/ : Whenever this suffix is used the verb form is reduplicated. For example:

(34) se {kha-u kha-u} bOs asigOla
{*khau}
he eat-nonfin. bus came
'When he was eating, the bus came.'

Suffix /-e/ : This is used to express conditionality and is added to the verb-stem +/-il/. For example:

(35) se khail-e mũ jibi
he eat-nonfin. I will go
'If he eats, I will go.'

Suffix /-uNu/ : This suffix is normally attached to a verb when the neg-element precedes it. For example:

(36) mũ nO asuNu se khia arOmbhO kOrideithila
I neg-come-nonfin he eating had started
'He had started eating before I came.'

Then, infinitives can be formed by adding /-ku/, to the verb-stem, + /iba/. For example:

(37) se khaiba-ku asichi paĩ lagi
he eat-inf. has come
'He has come to eat.'

5.3. Syntax

As discussed above in section 4, the word-order in Oriya is predominantly SOV though changes in this order are allowed due to stylistic reasons. In this section, we have also discussed that the equational sentences are either verbless like Dravidian or verb-medial like Munda. Another interesting feature of Oriya sentence structure is that the neg-element, which always follows the verbs, precedes only the be-verb. Only

when it is in the present continuous form, it gets converted into a negative root /nah-/. In the following examples the neg-element is underlined to make the point clear.

(38) mũ ghOre thae
I at home am
'I stay at home (habitual).'

(39) mũ ghOre <u>nO</u>thae
I at home neg-am
'I do not stay at home (habitual).'

(40) mũ ghOre thili
I at home was
'I was at home.'

(41) mũ ghOre <u>nO</u>thili
I at home neg-was
'I was not at home.'

(42) mũ ghOre thibi
I at home will be
'I will be at home.'

(43) mũ ghOre <u>nO</u>thibi
I at home neg-will be
'I will not be at home.'

(44) mũ bhatO khae
I rice eat
'I eat rice.'

(44) mũ bhatO khae<u>nahĩ</u>
I rice eat-neg
'I do not eat rice.'

Notice that in (39), (41), and (43), which negate the verbs of (38), (40), (42) respectively, the neg-element /nO/ precedes the <u>be</u>-verbs /thae/, /thili/, and /thibi/. But in (45), which is a negation of (44), the fuller neg-element /nahĩ/ follows the main verb /khae/ unlike Hindi in which the neg-element precedes the verb in the same environment, e.g /tu nahĩ khaega/ 'You will not eat'. Interestingly, this characteristic is commonly found in Dravidian and that is why Oriya can be said to have converged with it.

Another fascinating feature of Oriya is the presence of two kinds of negation, i.e. real and existential negation. It uses /nuhẽ/ for the former and /nahĩ/ for the latter. The following examples are illustrative:

(45) se calak <u>nuhẽ</u>
he clever is not
'He is not clever.'

(46) se eThi <u>nahĩ</u>
he here is not
'He is not here.'

Hindi does not make this kind of distinction and uses the same /nəhiĩ/ for both the purposes. But Dravidian languages do make this distinction clearly. The following Telugu example will drive home the point:

(47) idi kurci <u>kadu</u>
It chair is not
'It is not a chair.'

(48) idi iNTilo <u>leedu</u>
It in house is not
'It is not in the house.'

Notice that Oriya /nuhẽ/ and /nahĩ/ are similar to Telugu /kadu/ and /leedu/. So this is another Dravidian feature found in Oriya.

6. Conclusion

To sum up, the following significant points have been made in this paper: i) Oriya is the language of wider communication in the state of Orissa; but due to their adaptable attitude the Oriyas in general try to speak with other language speakers in the latter's language wherever possible. As a result, other language speakers living in Orissa for long are not learning Oriya. It has made Oriya a weak language that is shrinking in terms of its domains of use day by day. ii) Oriya is the official language in Orissa; but its use in the official domains has not been fully implemented yet. iii) Finally, though Oriya has been widely claimed to be an Indo-Aryan language, it shows a number of Dravidian and Munda characteristics at all levels, viz. phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, due to its close contact and convergence with the latter languages since time immemorial.

Note

While transcribing, capital letters have been used for corresponding retroflex consonants and /O/ for the half-open rounded back vowel /ɔ / for convenience.

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On *Brata Kathaa As Discourse Of Power*: A Study Of Sarala's *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa*

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This paper is a study of a *brata kathaa* (roughly, a "story associated with a religious observance") as a narrative of power, a piece of work that quite surprisingly has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. In the later part of the paper, an attempt has been made to situate this short work in the process of standardization of Oriya and the prose discourse in it. This *brata kathaa*, *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa* (roughly "The Story of Thursday"), is written in prose by the celebrated poet Sarala Das, who wrote in the fifteenth century and who is known as the aadi kavi ("the first poet") of Oriya literature. This is very probably the only literary piece in prose that Sarala wrote. A *brata kathaa*, like a *mahaatyma kathaa* (roughly, a "story that depicts the power and greatness of some particular god or goddess"), in the Oriya literary tradition, as surely in other literary traditions in our country, is explicitly a narrative of power.

Now if a *brata kathaaa* is so obviously about power, is it of any real interest today to analyse it from the point of view of power, one might ask. *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa* indeed is; considering the genre, here the narrative expresses a somewhat different conception of power. And this work is important from the point of view of the development of prose in Oriya. This paper is organized as follows: at the outset it provides some basic information about the poet and the genre, etc., then it analyses Sarala's text from the point of view of power, and it finally makes some observations about the linguistic significance of the narrative.

Although Sarala is called *aaadi kavi*, he is not really the first poet; he is the first great poet. He couldn't have composed his Mahabharata if there did not already exist a long and fairly strong literary tradition. In fact the few pre-Sarala literary compositions that are available provide compelling evidence of the existence of such a tradition. Oriya literature is about a thousand years old, according to Surendra Mohanty, the great modern writer and critic (1982: *kha*)". It is well known that the flourishing of literature in a language is connected with the attitude of the ruling elite to that language. As Mohanty points out, for years Orissa was ruled by the Keshari and Ganga dynasties, who were outsiders, and were patrons of Sanskrit. During their time owing to lack of encouragement and support Oriya literature did not flourish, and one could surmise that many literary works produced during those centuries perished on account of neglect. Until recently, in order to survive, literature needed patronage of the rulers and the larger elite – a situation which is surely not restricted to Oriya literature alone. It was only when Kapiledra Deba became the *gajapati* (non-literally and roughly, "emperor")

king of Orissa in the fifteenth century that Oriya literature received royal patronage. Sarala belonged to this period.

By Sarala's time, Oriya was a fully formed language with a very rich lexicon. But it was still not free from the influence of Sanskrit and Tamil. The language was yet to undergo adequate differentiation in the sense that words were not differentiated with respect to their use in formal, informal, discourses, etc. Barring the taboo words, nothing seemed to have been prohibited in discourse. And a discourse was unconstrained with respect to style. Thus in a phrase the tatsama and the native could both occur, and in a discourse there could be a mix between the sublime and the ordinary, or the classical and the folk. Thus for the creative writer at this point of time the linguistic repertoire was vast, in terms of both words and styles, and he was free to make use of it freely. In his poetic work, especially, Mahabharata, Sarala made the most creative use of this. No writer after Sarala enjoyed this freedom. As the language got differentiated in the above sense, the creative writer's repertoire also shrank.

Turning to *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa*, it is a *brata kathaa*, in all probability the only *brata kathaa* that Sarala composed. A *brata kathaa* is a short prose or poetic narrative that celebrates a particular god or goddess. It has a flat plot. Setting aside details, celebrating a god or a goddess ordinarily means demonstrating the power of that divine being - if he or she is offended, often for absolutely no fault of the agent, then the latter suffers great misery, and when he atones for his mistake and worships the offended god or the goddess, he is more than amply compensated. The narrative has a simple message: for a human's well being he must please the celestials. A *brata kathaa* is associated with a specific religious occasion, performed at home. The *brata kathaas* have a distinct folk flavour, and most of these seem to be observed by women, at least in Orissa. These are in some real sense the common man's little puranas.

Sarala's *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa* is like other *brata kathaas* in many respects, but is at the same time different from them in certain other respects too. Like a typical *brata katha*, it has a narrative-dramatic structure: someone narrates the tale, and during the narration as the characters appear and interact as in a play, the narrative voice recedes into the background. Sarala's story is not a crude celebration of power. Laxmi in Sarala's *brata kathaa* is gentle, benign and forgiving; and there is no serious disregard of her power and authority either; as such there is little suffering. Sarala's tale deals with benefits that accrue to the agent in a suggestive way unlike typical *brata kathaas*. Again, unlike in a typical *brata katha*, the story element predominates in *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa*, and it does not contain the usual list of instructions that the agent must obey in order to perform the observance. Unlike a typical *brata katha*, it briefly touches on the moral code in the social domain.

In the world of *brata katha*, gods and humans belong to different worlds, but interact in the latter's world. Often gods or goddesses are like the neighbours next door, as in a folk narrative, but the power relation between a god or a goddess and a human is completely unequal. The divine being would like the human realize his or her importance; the latter must realize that his or her well being or suffering would depend

on his or her pleasure or displeasure. Once this happens, the celestial's ego is satisfied. When a god is offended, he decides to punish the offender, who suffers greatly as a consequence. Sometimes latter might be aware of this cause of his sudden suffering, but sometimes he fails to connect his misery with the celestial's displeasure, in which case someone or something makes him aware of the same. A *brata katha* never ends in a tragedy, because ultimately the human being surrenders himself or herself to the celestial.

In *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa*, the daughter-in-law of the *saadhaba* ("business man/trader") does not offend any god or goddess. As she was returning from the bathing ghat, she chanced upon some celestial women who invited her to join them and listen to a ceremonial telling of a Mahalakhmi tale. She told them that she listens to this tale every day from her mother-in-law. This offended the women, who charged her of equating the celestials and the humans. Had she joined them, they told her, she would have enjoyed great prosperity. They cursed her that from then on she would fail in whatever she would do. This is very probably the only *brata kathaa* in Oriya in which the identity of the storyteller matters.

That was a Thursday, the day for the worship of goddess Lakshmi. The daughter-in-law tried to cook, but the curse was working and the vessel would not heat up. The mother-in-law found out everything, mildly blamed her daughter-in-law for her indiscretion, and went to cook. Then she cleaned a room, put flowers, lamp, and everything else for the worship in the proper place, and invoked the goddess, but she wouldn't appear. Finally she did, but wanted her to choose between her daughter-in-law and her. She chose the goddess, and at her instance, she drove the poor woman out of her house. She did not know where to go, and sat in an outer room of the house, where she started separating rice grains from grains of paddy.

The goddess was so highly pleased with the mother-in-law's devotion that she expressed her desire to have her food at her place that morning. The mother-in-law mildly complained. She was alone in the house, and there was no one to get things. Lakshmi asked her not to worry. Her attendants brought everything. Sriya, the mother-in-law, was so overwhelmed with her devotion that she lost control of her sense of reality. During the meal, she served one thing when she was supposed to serve something else. The goddess knew what was happening. She was very pleased with her and asked her to make the bed for her. She wanted to rest at her place. Sriya served her as she lay down on the bed. She soon fell asleep.

Her divine consort and his elder brother, Hari and Balaram, noticed that she was not in the Great Temple (*bada deula*, the Jagannath temple in Puri), and they asked an attendant to blow the conch. She woke up when she heard the sound, and was literally running to the temple. She had to cook for her family, and she was late. Sriya was following her, hoping she would fulfill her wishes. She asked for a large family of sons, and grandsons, and their family, and she asked for wealth. Although a bit exasperated with her long list of demands, she granted her all she wanted. And she asked her to bring back her daughter-in-law home.

In the temple, she cooked for her family. Unknown to her, her husband, Hari, wanted to test whether she was really the provider of food to all the living beings of the creation, and the following morning, he realized that she indeed was, and openly acknowledged it.

The story ends with Sriya's prosperity. Once the king was passing by with the royal procession, but she couldn't hear the drum, because that sound was drowned by the sound of the ornaments of her daughters-in-law, nieces and nephews, as they moved in the house. She knew that the goddess's boon had materialized.

There are several conflict situations in the narrative, but none blows up to cause sorrow and pain to the weak and the powerless in the typical *brata kathaa* mode. In obedience to the goddess, Sriya did expel her daughter-in-law, Priya, from the house, but she protected her honour in the way she did, and thereby also encouraged her to stay in her backyard. In the narrative, the goddess didn't seem to mind. She also didn't mind when Sriya so directly expressed her difficulties when she told her that she wanted to have her meal at her house. In a typical *brata kathaa* this would have been considered inexcusable, and the consequences would have been terrible for the agent. Sriya repeatedly made mistakes while serving the divine guest at her place, but the goddess Laksmi didn't mind. She understood her. The god or the goddess of a *brata kathaa* is never so considerate, never so forgiving.

Then by having a happy time in Sriya's house she had neglected her duties in the Great Temple. Finding that she wasn't in the kitchen, all that her consort, Hari, told his brother was that she was no more considerate to them. Some decades later, the eminent Oriya poet Balaram Das in his popular Lakshmi Puran imaginatively exploited the potential of conflict and the demonstration of power of this situation.

Lakshmi didn't take umbrage at her husband's skepticism about whether she really fed all the living beings, and indirectly subjecting her to a test, without her knowledge. When he discovered the following morning that she indeed did feed all the living, he happily announced it to her. He didn't feel embarrassed at or jealous of his consort's importance.

In Sarala's *brata kathaa* power is certainly a dominant motif, but there is no projection of its crudity and its violent manifestation. The powerful are genuinely generous, forgiving and graceful. It is as though the author of *Mahaabhaarata* has gone on to conceptualize an alternative universe – a harmonious universe in which power operates within a benign value system. Goddess Lakshmi, who is the central character of the narrative, is affectionate, and is protective towards her devotees, and she subscribes to family values. As she heard the conch, she felt a sense of guilt about having neglected her duty as wife as she indulged herself in her devotee's house. As she woke up, she even mildly chided Sriya for not having woken her up earlier, and subjecting her to possible scolding in the Great Temple, of which there was really no apprehension as her husband and his elder brother are in fact indulgent towards her. The goddess does not see her work in the kitchen of the Great Temple as low or humiliating;

she sees it as her duty and her responsibility as the food giver in the universe of harmony.

There aren't harsh words in the narrative, accusing and condemning the alleged offender, neither is there a string of subjunctives heaping curses on him.

Continuing on the style of discourse in *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa*, what is of particular interest for our present purposes is that it is conspicuously different from Sarala's other, although poetical, narratives. Puranic in content and orientation, it is more controlled and more tightly organized in structure. There are no digressions, no mixing of different narrative styles (the classical and the folk, for example), or even different types of lexical items, etc. What could be a possible explanation? It might be mentioned that any explanation would be speculative, rather than definitive, because of unavailability of relevant data, including biographical data concerning Sarala Das.

One wonders if the stylistic differences mentioned above have to do with the choice of the genre. *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa* is a prose composition. In a sense, a composition in prose might be thought of as naturally allied with ordinary use of language in day-to-day life. And ordinary discourse is rational, describable in terms of Gricean theory of language use, but this of course does not mean at all that it is shorn of rhetorical devices. So did Sarala think that free flights of imagination and unconstrained explorations of experiences were unsuitable for creative expression in the genre of prose narrative? An answer in the affirmative does not seem unreasonable.

It would be perfectly reasonable to say that with *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa*, Oriya prose attained a level of maturity. For centuries before Sarala Oriya prose had existed in the form of inscriptions, of a philosophical text, *Amarakosha*, inspired by the thoughts of the Natha cult, of *Maadalaa Paanji*, which documents the (Jagannath) temple (at Puri) rituals and statement of expenditures, etc., and the literary work, *Rudrasudhaanidhi*, although there is controversy regarding the time of its composition – whereas the linguist K.B. Tripathy thinks it's a text written sometime in the fourteenth or the first part of the fifteenth century, other scholars such as Krushna Chandra Sahu and Kedarnath Mohapatra maintain that it was composed, post-Sarala, in the early part of the sixteenth century (1982: *dha-na*). Now the prose in the inscription is clear, matter of fact, sometimes a bit rhythmic, but is sometimes deficient in terms of elegance. The language of *Amarakosha* is strongly philosophical, and highly cryptic, and many lines rhyme giving a poetic flavour to the text. The language of *Maadalaa Paanji* is the matter of fact language of an accounts book, which, in part, it is. And *Rudrasudhanidhi* is a poetic prose text. Consider the following description of old age from *Rudrasudhanidhi* (Tripathy, K.B., 1982: 39). The string of short sentences which rhyme at the end produces the effect of poetry.

(1) *bhoga ichchaa sarai. sapta dhaatu marai. sadabudhdhi haraai. bihwala karai*

(The desire to enjoy oneself ends. The seven tendencies (?) die. One loses control. One gets unsettled in the mind.)

Sarala's prose is precise, clear and idiomatic. The sentences vary in length, and on this account, even when some adjacent sentences end with similar sounds, the rhyming effect does not arrest attention; what does is the natural rhythm of colloquial speech. Consider (2), where the mother-in-law is telling her daughter-in-law, who is going out for her bath alone, what to do in certain situations:

(2) *khare aasibu. bada loka dekhile maanya dharma karibu. sari loka dekhi kola sambhaasana karibu. baalaka dekhi mukhe cumbana debu.*

> (Come soon. If you see elderly or important people, pay respects to them. When you see your equals, hold them in embrace. When you see a child, kiss him.)

By avoiding digressions, uninformative elaborations and unnecessary ornamentation, Sarala demonstrates economy and control in his narrative. In doing all these, he had taken prose to a noticeable level of maturity, and made it a suitable mode for creative expression. At the same time he was setting the norm for narrative in prose in the language. In other words he was standardizing discourse. He probably was the first writer in Oriya who in his own work distinguished between discourses in prose and poetry.

In sum, an attempt has been made here to show how *Nityaani Gurubaara Kathaa* is so different as a discourse of power compared with other *brata kathaas* in which power is allied to arrogance and is destructive. In this sense it is unique as *brata kathaa*. The paper has also attempted to show how Sarala Das in this short and largely neglected prose piece was creating norms of discourse in prose in Oriya.

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On Grammatical Differences between Dakkhini and Urdu

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Introduction

Dakkhini and Urdu, historically speaking, are one and the same entity. Their earliest ancestral predecessor originated in and around Delhi after 1000 A.D. at the end of Apabhramsa period and 'was based on Haryani' (Masud Husain: 1969). This ancestral dialect was later implanted in the far off and alien Deccan, firstly by the invading army of Alauddin Khilji and secondly by the capital-shift of Mohammad-binTughlaq in 1327 A.D. Here the dialect received, among others, the name Dakkhini. It was also cultivated as a literary vehicle in Deccan and produced a good deal of literature between 15 – 17th centuries. After 1700 A.D., it however, ceased to be a literary vehicle.

The Haryani-based Delhi dialect (mentioned above) could bloom as a literary medium with its migration to Deccan, it could not show parallel growth (as a literary vehicle) in its native environment. Nonetheless it was alive in its spoken form and 'was later standardized on the basis of Khariboli' (Masud Husain: 1969). Shedding off its dormancy the dialect however began to rise as a literary medium early in the 17th century A.D. In course of time, it flourished and produced a vast amount of literature. It also received different names from time to time such as Ud-e-Hindi, Hindavi, Hindustani, Urdu etc., the last being current now.

Thus Dakkhini and Urdu though sprouted from one and the same source, each took a different course of history to become two distinct varieties as they are today. The present paper attempts to compare the two at morphological as well as at syntactic levels.

It may be mentioned that at present Dakkhini and Urdu have structurally departed a great deal from each other and differences between the two are not marginal but magnitudinal. A contrastive study of the two may be pedagogically relevant for Dakkhini speakers who acquire Urdu formally. Further it may also offer us insights to explore the factors involved and reasons for such a departure and possible implications of this.

In this backdrop of Dakkhini and Urdu we would now proceed to analyze and discuss the differences between the two (both as spoken currently) at the morphological and syntactic levels. In view of the limited scope of the paper, we do not attempt a detailed contrast of the duo but to stick to only a few sharp features of difference. For the convenience of discussion we shall divide the paper into two sections viz., morphology and syntax.

1. Morphology

1.1. Case formation:

Both Urdu and Dakkhini, nouns show only a three-way case-system i.e. direct, oblique, and vocative. But there is a difference between the two with respect to the case ending in plural. We would limit ourselves here only to -a ending (e.g., *ghoRa* 'horse') and consonant ending (e.g., *phul* 'flower') noun stems and show their inflectional pattern in the following table:

Example of noun stem	Variety	Direct	Oblique	Vocative
1. ghoRa	1.Dakkhini 2.Urdu	ghoRe ghoRe	ghoR-yaā ghoR-oā	ghoR-e (ghoR-e-ho) ghoR-o
2. phul	1.Dakkhini 2.Urdu	phul-aā phUl	phul-aā phul-oā	phul-aā (phulaā ho) phul-o

As is evident, in Urdu the plural oblique and vocative of an */-a/* ending noun and a consonant-ending noun are formed with /-oā/ and /-o/ respectively. The following illustrative examples put the point more explicitly:

Obli. : *ghoRoā* ko khllao
'Please, feed *the horses.*

Voc. : *ghoRo* tez dAuRo
'O horses ! be swift (lit. : run fast)'

Obli. : *phuloā* pAr os ke qAtre hīā
'There are dew drops on *the flowers.'*

Voc. : *Ai phulo* SAbnAm se kAho
'0 flowers ! Please convey to the dew'

As opposed to Urdu, in Dakkhini the /-a/ ending nouns in oblique and vocative case get pluralized by *-yaā* and *-e* respectively and the consonant-ending nouns with *-aā* in both the cases. The vocative case is optionally followed by *ho* as shown in the above table. The following examples elucidate the point:

Obli. : *ghoR-yaā* ku khAlao
'please feed *the horses*'

Voc. : *re ghoRe ho* dhAuRo
'O *horses* ! please run'

Obli. : *phulaā̃* ki bas
'the fragrance of *the flowers'*

Voc. : *phulaā̃ ho*
'O flowers'

1.2. Pronouns

The pronominal system of Urdu and Dakkhini contrasts in many respects. The 2nd person pronominal forms constitute a three-tier hierarchy in Urdu whereas it is only two-tier in Dakkhini. The system in each case is given below with its pertinent details :

Urdu	Specifications	Dakhini	Specifications
tu	singular non-honorific	*tu*	sg. non-honorific informal
tUm	singular honorific informal; its use is also dependent on the social status of the addressee in the hierarchy of social order.	*tUme*	sg.honorific; followed by sAb 'all' it is plural
ap	sg. honorific formal, followed by */log/* 'people' and /sAb/ 'all' it is plural.		

Dakkhini makes a division of the 3rd person pronouns into personal and non-personal pronouns as follows:

	Personal		Non-Personal	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
Proximate:	Ine	Ino	ye	ye
Remote:	Uno	Uno	vo	vo

As opposed to this, Urdu uses only */ye/* (prox.., sg. pl.) and */vo/* (rem. sg. pl.) for both persons and non-persons.

Besides the above, there are differences in the inflection of Urdu and Dakkhini pronominal forms when they are followed by postpositions. Dakkhini shows more pronominal cases than in Urdu.

Similarly, the relative pronouns of Urdu such as /jo/ 'the one which' and its inflectional forms such as */jIs/, /jIn/, /jInheā̃/* etc. are notably unknown to Dakkhini.

1.3. Adjectives

There is an important difference is in the category of cardinal adjectives (only between multiples of ten) each employs. Below we elucidate the cardinal system of both the varieties to illustrate their differences.

In Urdu, the cardinals between multiples of ten such as */bais/* 'twenty two' */cAvalis/* 'forty four' */pAcpan/* 'fifty five' etc. are mostly single lexical items. By subjecting them to morphemic division it is possible to derive smaller segments which may be designated as allomorphs of the multiple of ten and the units from 1 - 9. However, the allomorphs of units and those of multiples of ten are so intricately fused that any unit between multiples of ten appears to be a single synthetic unit.

In Dakkhini, barring the cardinals from 1 to 20 and multiples of 10, all others are derived by the summation of units (1 to 9) into the multiples of ten. The units are represented in their full form and occur finally in the cardinal phrase. Between the multiples of ten and the unit occurs an element */po/* (which is actually a postposition meaning 'on, upon, above'. The relationship may be shown as follows:

Corresponding multiple of ten - *po* - unit.

For example, the cardinal 'thirty five (35)' in Dakkhini is */tis po paāc/* '(lit. five upon thirty)' and 'sixty eight (68)' is */saTh po aTh/* . The Dakkhini cardinals (between multiple of ten) have thus tended to be more analytical compared to the intricately fused units in Urdu cardinals.

1.4. Verbs

Verbal inflection is another area where Dakkhini and Urdu show most striking differences. Dakkhini lacks the double causative suffix */-va/* [as we have in Urdu */pARhva/* 'case some one to cause (someone) to read'] */kArva/* 'cause someone to cause to do'] and hence also the double causative stems. As a contrast to it, the occurrence of double causative verb stems is the normal feature of Urdu morphology.

Urdu maintains a difference between the present tense and the future tense. The former is expressed by the auxiliary hĩ 'is', hĩā 'are' etc., following the imperfect participle (as in */lARka jata hĩ/* 'the boy goes') and in the latter */ga, gi, ge/* follow the optative form (as in */ lARka ja-e-ga/* 'the boy will go'). In Dakkhini, however, this structural difference is totally lost and there is a single suffix to express both present (habitual) and future tense as follows:

mAiM *ja-t-uā*	'I(sg.ml.) habitually go/will go'
Une dud *pi-t-Ae*	'he (rem.) habitually drinks/will drink milk'

Dakkhini verb morphology is characterised by the presence of peculiar form - permissive-imperative (label coined by the author) as in the following sentence:

Uno *ja-nde*	'let him (rem.) go'
mĩā *a-nde?*	'may I come ?'

This verbal form has no parallel in the Urdu verb morphology.

Dakkhini also possesses verbal forms - hortative and cautionary future. Their structure and meaning is illustrated in the following sentences:

Hortative (confined to 1st person pl. only):

dekhiā-ge 'let us see'

Cautionary future (confined to 2nd and 3rd persons):

dekta rhAo, blli dud *piliā-gi* 'watch, lest the cat drink milk'

Such verbal forms have no corresponding counterparts in Urdu.

Another unique feature of Dakkhini verb morphology is the presence of a non-finite verbal form viz., relative (adjectival) participle. It Is derived by the suffix, *-so* added to any finite verb. The general rule governing the formation of relative participle is:

finite verb + *-so* = relative participle (of the verb)

The resultant structure may precede a noun and function as an adjective (or complement) to modify the following noun or it may occur as the predicate of a sentence. A few illustrative examples of relative participle and its occurrence are given below:

Aya-so Admi,. ayani
'the man who has gone, did not return (as yet)'

ye kam nAukAraā *kAriā-so*
'It is the servants who have done this work'

A parallel counterpart of relative participle of Dakkhini is not found in Urdu.

Likewise in the formation of compound verbal stems there is a major difference between Urdu and Dakkhini. That is, in the former the subordinating suffix, *-kAr* (past adverbial participle suffix) does not occur after the compound verb stems such as *llkh – de, kha-le* etc. Therefore compound verbal stems with *-kAr* such are **llkh-de-kAR, *kha-le-kAr* are not grammatical in Urdu. Contrary to this, in Dakkhini, the occurrence of compound verb stem with *-ko* (corresponding to *kAr* mentioned above) is a common phenomenon, e.g.,

tUme *llk-dal-ko ajao*
'please write (it) and come back [lit. please come back having written (it)]'

Uno *de-dal-ko* agAe
'they (rem.) the (rem. hon. sg.) gave (it) and came'

2. Syntax

Dakkhini exhibits a marked contrast from Urdu in its syntax too. In the following paragraphs, we deal briefly with the differences at syntactic level between the two.

2.1. Sentences with copula vs. zero copula:

In Urdu syntax, we do not find sentences with absence of copular verbs (such as

2.4. Presence vs. absence of passive sentences

Occurrence of passive sentences is another important feature of Urdu. The passive verb stem is formed by the 'perfect form of the verb + *ja-*'. The occurrence of subject in a passive sentence is only rare, e.g.,

hAm sAb nyuklIyai jAd̃ meã mare ja-eã-ge

'All of us will be killed in the nuclear war.'

ye mAzmun Usse nAhiã pARha gAya

'He (rem.) could not read this essay. (lit. this essay could not be read by him)'

As opposed to this, Dakkhini does not use passivization. Consequently, the passive sentences are lacking in Dakkhini syntax.

2.5. Quotative sentences

In Urdu the normal pattern of reporting speech is that the reporting sentence precedes the reported sentence with the complimentizer *ke* 'that' holding the two together. e.g.,

Us ne kAha *ke* kam jAldi ho-ja-e-ga
'He (rem.) said that the work would be done soon.'

hUkumAt ne elan klya hAi *ke* sAb fAuj meã kam kAreã-ge
'The government has declared that everybody would work in the army.'

In Dakkhini, however, the pattern is exactly reverse of the above i.e., the reported sentence occurs first and the reporting sentence follows it with the occurrence of the complimentizer *kArko* 'that or quotative *kA*, e.g.,

CHECK THESE SENTENCES AND THEIR MEANINGS (yes, these are absolutely correct)

mĩã xAt llktuã *kArko* bolya *Une*
'He said that he would write a letter.'

dAs rUpAe detuã *kAya mAiã*
'I (sg. ml.) said that I would pay ten rupees'

3. Conclusion

We have elucidated the differences between Dakkhini and Urdu at the morphological and syntactic (sentential) levels. We have pointed out a few glaring differences only. The dimension of differences between the two is significant. These differences have to be looked into from different perspectives. The hypothesis that the variety of North (which later came to be known as Urdu) changed a great deal in the midst of native languages and that the variety of South (which received the name 'Dakkhini') did not change much perhaps is not tenable. At any event, we cannot ignore the impact of

various Dravidian languages on Dakkhini. It is in the midst of these languages that Dakkhini has been living and growing all these centuries.

(The findings in this paper are based on the data of Dakkhini spoken in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh collected by the author).

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On Indo-Aryan Phonology

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The earliest written records available on the sub-continent come to us from Sanskrit; in fact RgVeda is regarded as the earliest knowledge-text available to mankind. The Indo-Aryan languages1[1], the descendents of Sanskrit, are spoken across South Asia from Afghanistan to Sri Lanka along side scores of languages of at least three other major language families. A great deal of convergence has taken place among these languages from different stocks over the last over three millennia and they continue to co-exist while maintaining their independent genetic affiliations.

In the sequel we make an attempt to present an overview of the distribution of speech sounds in Indo-Aryan (IA) languages. We take up consonant segments first and look at their distribution on the basis of 'manners of articulation'. We begin with the plosives/stops.

1. The **stops**[2] in IA are: a) **bilabial** (*Oʃt^{h}ya*), b) **dental/alveolar** (*dantya/vartsya)*, c) **cerebral/retroflex** (*mu:rd^{h}anya)*, and d**)** **velar** (*kanl^{h}ya/jihva:mu:lya)*; **uvular** (*alijihvi:ya) q* has been borrowed from Arabic and is confined to Standard Urdu, Standard Sindhi and a few Dardic languages (Sawi, Indus Kohistani, Swat-Dir Kohistani, Khowar, Pashai, and Katarqalai[3]). The labial, dental/alveolar, cerebral/retroflex, and velar series of consonants are widespread in the family. The Eastern-most NIA language, Asamiya/Assamese, is the only one to have lost the cerebral series. Across the board the plosives exhibit a voiceless vs. voiced distinction under each series. The contrasts obtained are: *pb, td, td,*and *Ÿ,g*. Aspiration adds

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[1] **O I A** -Vedic and Classical Sanskrit (**S**).
***MIA** – Pali, ʃ̄auraseni, Ma:gadhi, Ardha-Ma:gadhi, Maha:ra:ʃ̄ri:,
Piʃ̄a:ci:, Apabhramʃ̄a (**Pa**)
***NIA**-*Western--Gujarati(G), Kacchi(Kc), Konkani(K), Marathi(M), Sindhi(Si).
*Northern— Bhili (Bh), Dardic (Da),Dogri (D), Hindi-Urdu (HU), Kaʃ̄mi:ri: (Kr), Pahari (Ph), Punjabi (P), Rajasthani (R), Siraiki (Sr).
*Eastern-- Asamiya (A), Bangla (B), Nepali (N), Maithili (Ml), Oriya (O), Bhojpuri(Bj) *Southern—Sinhala (Sl).
Hindi-Urdu (HU) encompasses Haryanvi, Braj, Awadhi, Chhatisgarhi, Malwi and other regional varieties of the standard HU.
Dardic (Da) encompasses a group of languages spoken in parts of India (Ladakh), Pakistan and Afghanistan. <Gawarbati, Kalasha, Torwali, Indus Kohistani, Palula, Khowar, Shina, Shumashti, Dameli, Tirahi, Swat- Dir Kohistani, Katarkalai>.

[2] We have listed the palatals c,ch, j, jh under affricates here, although several scholars place them under stops.

[3] Katarkalai is reportedly extinct now. For a brief introduction to Dardic* languages, *see* Cardona & Jain (eds.) 2003.

another two segments in each series (*p*, p^h, *b*, b^h *and so on)* and the 'four-segment series' of stops are present in the Eastern (Bengali, Oriya, Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Magahi), Northern (Rajasthani, Bhili, Hindi-Urdu, Siraiki, Dardic (Gawarbati, Kalasha, Torwali, Indus Kohistani, and Palula)) and Western (Gujarati, Marathi, Konkani*, Sindhi, Kacchi) **New Indo-Aryan** (NIA) languages. (*Konkani does not have aspirated labial stop p^h; *it* has the labio-dental fricative *f* in its place.) Asamiya has three of these series; it does not have the cerebral segments at all. The voiced aspirates are not attested in some of the Northern languages, namely Panjabi, Dogri, Kashmiri, Pahari, Dardic (Khowar, Shina, Shumashti, Dameli, Tirahi, Swat- Dir Kohistani, and Katarkalai). Sinhala, and Dardic (Grangali and Pashai) do not have aspirated stops; in fact aspiration is completely lost from these languages. Sinhala has developed an additional series of prenasal voiced stops- ^{m}b, ^{n}d, *ɳd ñj*, ^{ŋ}g. Retroflexion is a near universal feature of the family; Asamiya is the only exception that has lost it. Sanskrit and Prakrits have bilabial, dental, cerebral, palatal and velar series of stops. The dental stops have become alveolar stops and palatal stops have become palatal affricates in NIA. **Table 1** below shows the distribution of stop segments in IA languages.

	P	*ph*	*b*	*bh*	^{m}b	*t*	*th*	*d*	*dh*	^{n}d	*t*	t^h	*d,*	$d,^h$	$_{n}{}^{d}$	*ñj*	*k*	*kh*	*g*	*gh*	^{ŋ}g	*q*
S	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
Pa	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
G	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
Kc	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
K	+		+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
M	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
Si	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		+*
Bh	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
Da	+	+	+	+*		+	+	+	+*		+	+*	+	+*			+	+	+	+*		+*
D	+	+	+			+	+	+			+	+	+				+	+	+			
HU	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		+*
Kr	+	+	+			+	+	+			+	+	+				+	+	+			
Ph	+	+	+			+	+	+			+	+	+				+	+	+			
P	+	+	+			+	+	+			+	+	+				+	+	+			
R	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
Sr	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
A	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+								+	+	+	+		
B	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
N	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
Ml	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
O	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
Bj	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
Sl	+		+		+	+		+		+	+		+		+	+	+		+		+	

Table 1.

Note: *+ Sign indicates presence of the segment in the language(s) concerned. Blank cells stand for its absence. +* indicates that the segment is not present in all the varieties/languages referred to therein. The end-note*1 *provides the key to abbreviations used to refer to the languages listed above.*

2. Nasals

There are five nasal consonants-bilabial *m*, dental/alveolar *n*, cerebral $\bar{L}$, palatal *ñ*, and velar *ŋ* in IA languages. A few languages have aspirated counterparts of these nasals as well- m^h, n^h, *ɳ*^{h}, (*ñ*^{h}), *ŋ*^{h}. The presence of *ñ*^{h} is not reported from anywhere, however. All the five unaspirated nasals are phonemic in a few languages only, namely Sindhi, Kalasha(Da), Siraiki, and Dogri; Siraiki has aspirated counterparts of the cerebral, alveolar and labial nasals as well. The bilabial *m* and alveolar *n* are present across the sub-family. Some NIA languages like Maithili, Bangla, Dardic (Khowar & Tirahi) employ just these two. Oriya, Dardic (Gawarbati,Pashai, Shumashti, Gangali, Dameli, Swat-Dir Kohistani, Torwali), and Sinhala employ four nasals; Oriya and some Dardic languages exclude the palatal *ñ* while Sinhala does not have the cerebral *N*. Torwali (Da) aspirates *m*, *n* and $\bar{L}$. Standard Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Konkani, Panjabi, Pahari, Dardic (Wotapuri-Katarkalai, Indus Kohistani) have three nasal phonemes- *m*, *n* and $\bar{L}$. In these languages the remaining two nasals complement the alveolar *n* word medially before homorganic stops/affricates. Bhojpuri, Asamiya and Nepali have the velar *ŋ* in addition to *m* and *n*. Aspirated nasals are also available in Rajasthani, Bhili, Magahi, Maithili, Bhojpuri *m*, m^h, *n*, n^h, (*ŋ*, *ŋ*$^{h)}$; the pair in parenthesis is present in some varieties of Bhojpuri only. See *Table 2* for the distribution of nasals in IA languages:

	S	Pa	G	Kc	K	M	Si	Bh	Da	D	HU	Kr	Ph	P	R	Sr	A	B	N	MI	O	Bj	SI
m	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
n	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ɳ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+*	+	+		+	+	+	+					+		
ñ	+	+					+	+	+*	+		+				+							+
ŋ	+	+					+	+	+*	+						+	+		+		+	+	+
m^h									+*						+	+				+		+	
n^h									+*						+	+				+		+	
ɳ^h									+*							+							
ñ^h																							
ŋ^h																						+	

Table 2.

3. Fricatives

Sanskrit has four spirants- three voiceless- alveolar *s*, cerebral ş, palatal *ʃ* and one voiced- glottal *ĥ* The word final visarga *h* is voiceless. The number reduces to two in Pali and Prakrits with the loss of the cerebral and palatal segments. However, Ma:gadhi (Prakrit) has lost alveolar *s* and retained the palatal *ʃ*. NIA languages exhibit a significant diversity in this regard. The number of places has gone up to six, namely labio-dental, dental/alveolar, cerebral, palatal, velar, and glottal. The largest number of fricatives (ten) is employed in Torwali (Da) and the lowest (two) in Bhojpuri, Rajasthani etc. The voiceless, cerebral fricative ş is present, as a continuation of Sanskrit sound system, in Marathi and a few Dardic languages(Torwali, Kalasha, Indus Kohistani, and Shina) the latter employ its voiced cerebral counterpart *ŝ* also. The velar and labial fricatives are an innovation due to the contact with Semitic, Iranian, and Germanic languages. The following *Table* shows the distribution of fricatives in NIA languages.

	S	Pa	G	Kc	K	M	Si	Bh	Da	D	HU	Kr	Ph	P	R	Sr	A	B	N	MI	O	Bj	SI
f					+	+*	+		+*		+			+*		+							
v						+*																	
s	+	+*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
z			+*				+		+	+	+	+		+*		+	+						
ş	+					+			+*		+*												
ŝ									+*														
ʃ	+	+*	+		+	+	+		+	+	+*	+		+		+		+					+
ʒ									+*														
x							+		+*		+*			+*		+	+						
γ							+		+*		+*			+*									
h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+
ɦ	+															+	+						

Table 3.

4. Affricates

The palatal affricates c, c^h, j, j^h are widespread, Asamiya is the only exception which does not employ them. Konkani, Kashmiri, Dardic, Marathi have alveolar affricates as well. While Kashmiri has *ts* and its aspirated counterpart *ts^h only*, Marathi, Kankani and some Dardic languages have voiced *dz* as well and the aspirated counterpart of the latter (*dz^h*) is available in Marathi and Konkani. Marathi does not employ the voiceless aspirated *ts^h*.The lowest number (two) of affricates is available in Sinhala and the highest (eight) in Konkani; Marathi has seven, Kashmiri five; Grangali (Da) has four -- the palatal *c*, *j* and the alveolar *ts, dz.*

See **Table** 4

	S	Pa	G	Kc	K	M	Si	Bh	Da	D	HU	Kr	Ph	P	R	Sr	A	B	N	Ml	O	Bj	Sl
c	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
c^h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
j	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
j^h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+*		+				+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
ts					+	+			+*			+											
ts^h					+				+*			+											
dz					+	+			+*														
dz^h					+	+																	

Table 4.

5. Laterals, Tap, and Flaps

The alveolar-lateral *l*, and alveolar-tap *r* are present in all the IA languages. The cerebral- lateral ḷ and cerebral-flap ṛ are found in several languages. The distribution of ḷ is significant, it is employed in (Northern) Panjabi, Rajasthani, Haryanvi, (Eastern) Oriya, (Western) Konkani, Marathi, and Gujarati. Konkani has aspirated alveolar l^h too, whereas Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Braj have alveolar lateral l^h as well as aspirated alveolar tap r^h. The aspirated cerebral flap ṛ^h is employed in HU, Bhojpuri, Siraiki etc.

See table 5 below:

	S	Pa	G	Kc	K	M	Si	Bh	Da	D	HU	Kr	Ph	P	R	Sr	A	B	N	Ml	O	Bj	Sl
l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
l^h					+											+				+		+	
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
r^h																				+		+	
ḷ					+	+	+							+	+						+		
ṛ											+			+	+	+				+		+	
ṛ^h											+				+	+				+		+	

Table 5

6. Semi-vowels

The semivowels labio-velar w and palatal y are employed across the board. However, a significant number of Bangla varieties do not employ *w;* they substitute it with b/b^h. Konkani, Siraiki and Marwari have an aspirated *w*^{h} as well; Konkani aspirates *y* too. Sanskrit nasalizes *y* as well as *w*.

7. Implosives

Sindhi, Bhili, Siraiki and Marwari are the only NIA languages that have developed labial, alveolar, palatal and velar voiced implosives, *ɓ, ɗ, ʄ, ɠ* .

Palatalization (Secondary Articulation)

Konkani and Kashmiri are the two major NIA languages that palatalize consonants. Konkani does not palatalize alveolar and palatal consonants (t, t^h, d, d^h, c, c^h, j, j^h, y), whereas Kashmiri palatalizes all but the semivowel *y; the palatal* c, c^h, j in Kashmiri are palatalized in word final position alone in a very few instances like *boc*^{h} 'hungry Sg.' > *boc*^{hy} 'Pl.'. Palatalization is phonemic (*kul* 'tree' ~ *k*^{y}*ul* 'nail') as well as morphemic (*kul* 'tree Sg.' ~ *kul*^{y} 'tree Pl.') in Kashmiri. In Konkani word-final consonant gets palatalized in number inflection as follows: *ta:* ɭ *i:* > *ta:* ɭ^y*o* 'clap >claps'; *ta:* ɭ *o* > *ta:* ɭ^y*e* ' twig > twigs', etc.

Palatalization as a secondary articulatory process is also present in Haryanvi and Rajasthani but it does not play phonemic/morphemic role there. For instance, HU *bola:* 'spoke' becomes *bol*^{y}*a:* in Haryanvi/ Rajasthani. It is a dialectal characteristic and is realized in word final position only. Some examples are: *kah*^{y}*a:* 'said', *suL̄*^{y}*a:* 'heard', etc. which appear in HU as *kaha:*, *suna:,* etc.

Pitch and Tone

Sanskrit has high-pitched (*uda:tta*), low-pitched (*anuda:tta*), and *svarita* vowels; the latter combine high and low pitch, starting high and descending to low. Among the NIA languages Panjabi, Dogri, Pahari (Kangri), Siraiki, Dardic (Shina and Kohistani) and Haryanvi have developed a three level tone system: low-rising, high-falling and level.

Vowels

Sanskrit has two (palatal) front (i, e), two (labial) back (u, o), and one (velar) central (a) vowels. The vowels a, i, and u have long (*dirgha*), i.e. bimoric as well as extra-long (*pluta*), i.e. trimoric counterparts. A *dirgha* vowel takes twice the time, two morae (*ma:tra:*) than what a short (*hrasva*) vowel takes. Pluta generally have three times the duration of a short vowel and occur under particular circumstances, e.g. in vocatives. The front *e* and the back *o* and the two diphthongs *ai* and *au* are long. Among the vocalic r, r: (cerebral), and lr, lr: (dental), only r occurs word-initially. The vocalics are lost in Pali onwards. Nasalisation of vowels is attested in all the NIA languages.

Most of the NIA languages continue to maintain long-short distinction as well as vowel nasalization. Length is not phonemic in Bengali, and Asamiya. Some languages like Sindhi, Kashmiri, Dardic have short e and o as well. Some NIA languages like Kashmiri, Dardic have developed central high and central mid vowels with length and nasalization features. In HU *a* is realized as *a*, ε and α. The distribution of vowels is given below:

	S	Pa	G	Kc	K	M	Si	Bh	Da	D	HU	Kr	Ph	P	R	Sr	A	B	N	Ml	O	Bj	Sl
u	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
U:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
o							+		+			+											
O:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ɔ												+					+	+		+	+		
ɔ:											+	+											
α																	+						
A:																							
i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
I:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
e							+		+								+						
ε:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
ε											+	+					+						
E:												+											
æ											+							+		+			
I										+		+											
I:										+		+											
ə										+	+	+							+	+			
ə:										+		+											
a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
A:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
r	+																						
R:	+																						
lr	+																						
L	+																						
ai	+																		+			+	
a	+																		+			+	

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Bengali Linguistics at the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century

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1. Introduction

The modern Bengali language, with a history of its birth and growth of more than thousand years, is vibrating with life for its future growth and expansion in various directions of our existence. At the threshold of the twenty-first century, it gathers momentum to expand its functionalities across the boarder of interdispliniary studies as well as trying to make itself maximally accessible to a larger number of populations through electronic media like computer and internet. This phenomenon, in turn, is opening up new avenues for the scholars to study and analyze the language and its properties in minute details for the benefit of the users of the language.

While the new techniques and tools of language technology are being designed to make the language more user-friendly, urgency has arised for recording the history of the earlier works for extracting information and insights to contribute towards the growth and betterment of the language and its people. This has motivated me to make this survey and present here a short sketch of the linguistic studies made in Bengali in the first eight years (2001-2008) of this century, which may be treated as a part of the continuum of the surveys already made in this direction by Udaya Narayana Singh (1999), Mrinal Nath (2001), and others.

In general, a survey of this kind can have the following four dimensions:

(a) Discussion about the issues of Bengali language and linguistics published in Bengali,

(b) Discussion about the general issues of language and linguistics published in Bengali,

(c) Discussion about the issues of Bengali language and linguistics published in English and other languages, and

(d) Discussion about the general issues of language and linguistics published in English and other languages.

Since the goal of the present survey is highly specific, I have tried to focus on the first two dimensions [(a) & (b)] stated above with occasional reference to the third dimension (c) as and when I have thought it inevitable. On the other hand, I have tried to exclude the works related to the Bengali language and linguistics but published in English and other languages, as they hardly fit into the scheme of my survey. Only a few works published in English, due of their strong referential relevance, are included

here. Moreover, as it is not possible to refer to each and every work published in the language during this period, I have selected those works, which I have found relevant to my present survey. Also, I had kept in mind the representative quality of the works before I have selected them for this purpose. Finally, although I have tried to confine myself within the time-span specified, to do justice to the survey, I had to refer to some of the works published before the specified time-span. The logic behind such overlaps as well as justification of the present survey is metaphorically visualized as a baton I have taken up from my earlier surveyors to hand it over to the surveyors of the next generation standing at the juncture of this historical journey to be made after a few years or a decade.

In the survey I have referred to only a few selected works, which, in my judgement, have certain amount of originality to contribute towards the enhancement of understanding of the Bengali language and linguistics. I have, however, failed to refer to some of the important works as I could not put my hand upon them. On the other hand, I have ignored some other works due to their lesser impact on Bengali language and linguistics. The areas I have tried to cover in the present survey include general or descriptive linguistics; phonology and phonetics; pronunciation; morphology, syntax and grammar; script and spelling; semantics; language education; translation; language movement; language planning, lexicography; dialectology; sociolinguistics; folkloristics; psycholinguistics; stylistics; historical linguistics; corpus linguistics; and individual contributions. I have deliberately included full name of the authors within the content of the paper to avoid ambiguities in names and titles of author, but have followed the traditional norms of presentation of the authors' names and works in reference section.

2. General/Descriptive linguistics

Within last few years several general issues of Bengali language and linguistics have been addressed from various angles by the scholars of various walks, which, in return have made the Bengali linguistics a colourful and interesting area of study. Some of the contributions are not confined within the broader areas of general descriptive linguistics of Bengali, but are expanded over other issues hardly fall under this sphere. Since information regarding the new trends of modern linguistics usually takes longer time to be absorbed in Bengali, credit should go to Enamul Haque (2001) and Monsur Musa (2002) who have made efforts for bringing in the information of the new areas of language and linguistics for the Bengali people and have tried to redefine the horizon of linguistics of the language. These scholars have tried to present a systematic discussion on some of the newly formed domains of linguistics with a focus on their nature and scope. On the same line falls the edited volume of Sandip Bandyopadhyay (2002) as it has shown interest to refer to and highlight some of the recent thoughts and activities of Bengali scholars in different areas of language and linguistics.

We can keep the edited volumes of Partha Chakrabarti (2002a, 2002b), Tapas Bhaumik (2003) and Tusharkanti Mahapatra (2005) as well as the books of Sucharita Bandyopadhyay (2005), Pabitra Sarkar (2005), Tahmina Khatun and Prabir De (2006)

within the traditional sphere of linguistics as these works mostly contain traditional discussions on different aspects of Bengali language and linguistics. Muhammad Daniul Huq (2002, 2006), Shourav Sikder (2002), Animeshkanti Pal (2004) and Nirmal Das (2006) on the other hand, have made attempts for making linguistics an area of wide acceptance and understanding for the common Bengali people. They are successful to certain extent as they have sincerely tried to describe and discuss several complex issues of linguistics in a lucid manner to make them palatable for the target readers. Notable distraction from this trend is, however, clearly visible in the edited volume of Debaprasad Bandyopadhyay (2004) — a self-proclaimed and self-certified propagator of *vagueolinguistics* (i.e., no substance, only hue and cry) — where he has made a futile attempt to uplift the traditional Bengali linguistics to a different grade keenly aligned to the sphere of 'nonsense', which is often propagated by the scholars (!) like him who intend and believe to live in the world of surrealistic intellectual disorder.

3. Pronunciation

The pronunciation of Bengali words has been an area of serious discussion among scholars as it often varies from person to person due to difference in utterance of letters used in formation of words. This is not a unique feature of the Bengali language, since most of the languages of the world register several differences in pronunciation of letters based on their distribution and usage in formation of words. For instance, in English, we can find out three different pronunciations of the letter 'c' based on its usage and role in words as reflected in forms like *cite, chain*, and *cattle*, etc. Similar phenomenon is distinctly discernable in Bengali also where a particular letter varies in utterance due to its positional role in a word. For instance, the vowel grapheme 'e' (and its allopraph) varies between two possible utterance variations [e] and [æ] depending on the context of its use in words (e.g., *ekuś* [ekuʃ] 'twenty-one': *ekāśi* [ækaʃi] 'eighty-one'). Similar observation is also true to the Bengali vowel grapheme 'a', which, depending on the context of its occurrence, varies between [ɔ] and [o] (e.g., *ata* [ɔto] 'this much': *ati* [oti] 'too much'), and the consonant grapheme 'ş' which also varies between [ʃ] and [Ø] depending on its occurrance in words (e.g., *aşudh* [oʃudh] 'medicine': *akşi* [o^{k}khi] 'eye') (Niladrisekhar Dash 2005).

There are several reasons behind such variations in pronunciation, the lack of one-to-one mapping between a letter and its pronunciation is one of them. Moreover, contextual pressure of the neighbouring letters as well as several phonological processes operating in spoken form of the language, put pressure on the letters to vary in utterance. To overcome discrepancies in utterance of the Bengali letters, some attempts are made in recent past to provide detail and easy guidelines about correct pronunciation of Bengali words and letters most of which are, indeed, conceptual continuations of the attempts have been made in earlier decades. The majority of these works have tried to provide some generalized rules for memorizing the patterns of pronunciation, which may help the language users and the learners to understand how a Bengali letter should

be pronounced in a word while they speak or interact in standard Bengali speech (Palashbaran Pal 2001, Apurbakumar Saha 2004).

4. Phonology and Phonetics

Although Bengali phonology and phonetics are identified as the areas of serous concern, we come across only a few works in this area during the time period considered for this survey. Among these, the most notable one is credited to Palashbaran Pal (2001) who has made an attempt to treat each and every Bengali letter separately as an independent linguistic enity to show how it is associated with several phonetic features and how it should be correctly pronounced to make verbal communication understandable. This work deserves special appreciation as similar attempt is hardly made before to understand the linguistic entity of the Bengali letters with regard to their form and function in the language. Gaurishankar Bhattacharya (2005, 2006) has made an attempt to present some information about the speech production mechanism of human beings and the rules and principles of speech production that the common Bengali people need to adhere with for proper articulation of Bengali speech sounds in normal verbal interaction. Niladrisekhar Dash (2008), on the other hand, has made an attempt to formulate rules of pronunciation of Bengali letters by analyzing text samples collected from a corpus of written texts as well as has tried to show how the Bengali graphemes (and allographs) need to be pronounced in context-free and context-bound situations. Such a data-based analysis becomes necessary for providing empirical support in realistic treatment of the phenomenon as well as for supplying authentic perspectives for finding out verifiable solutions to the problems.

Rakhalraj Mukhopadhyay (2006), with a specific goal for addressing needs of the Bengali learners, has done a good job by compiling a large list of Bengali words generated through the application of *sandhi*, a highly robust process of phonological operation in modern Bengali speech. He has also identified the rules that work behind the operation of the process. In the article on speech production Sakhawat Ansari (2002) has focused on the movement of the air-stream that originates at lungs and passes through the air passage and mouth cavity. He has also discussed how various organs of speech take part in the production of distinctive speech sounds in Bengali. In a similar manner, in two different articles, Mina Dan (2006, 2007) has tried to address the problems related with the phonetic entity of Bengali semivowel 'y'. In her first article she has tried to treat this particular segment within the frame of distinctive features proposed in generative phonology, while in the second one she has treated the same segment for identifying the interface underlying phonology-morphology.

5. Morphology and Syntax

Morphology and syntax of the modern Bengali language are areas of interest for some Bengali scholars enchanted with its mystic pull and enigmatic charm. Most of the discussions of Bengali morphology and syntax, however, rotate around the theories of age-old models and generative grammar. For instance, Udaykumar Chakrabarti (2004), in the revised version of his book, has tried to describe, in accordance with the

generative model of sentence interpretation, how different types of Bengali phrases can be constituted, arranged, and interpreted; Pabitra Sarkar (2004) has discussed the forms and usage variations of Bengali non-finite verb forms; Probal Dasgupta (2005), quite insightfully, has reflected on the variation of use of the Bengali verbs based on the variation of mood of the language users; Niladrisekhar Dash (2006) has tried to show how the internal process of morphodynamics operates at the lexical level in formation of Bengali compound words; and Rakhalraj Mukhopadhyay (2006), as a typical lexical data collector, has compiled a list of different types of compound word frequently used in the Bengali language.

6. Grammar

The study of Bengali grammar is mostly confined within the realm of focusing on some of the debatable issues of Bengali grammar, or making an attempt for compiling anthologies of earlier works, or experimenting with the standard models accepted in English. To refer to a few, while Nirmal Das (2000) has tried to record the history of birth and growth of the Bengali grammar within the frame of diachronic reference and description; Shourav Sikder (2002) has made an effort to compose a general Bengali grammar that can be used by the common Bengali people; Satyaranjan Bandyopadhyay (2004), in a short article, has tried to highlight the anarchy exhibited in modern Bengali grammar; and Pabitra Sarkar (2006) has discussed the general properties and features of the modern Bengali grammar in a synchronic frame of analysis, reference, and interpretation;

In case of anthology, Pabitra Sarkar *et al.* (2005, 2007) have compiled two separate volumes, the first one of which includes articles presented by scholars at a seminar held in 2005 at the *Bangla Akademi*, Kolkata, while the second volume includes articles published in earlier years in different little magazines and academic journals. Saraswati Mishra (2008), in a revised edited volume, has meticulously recorded several debates that have been raised by the scholars with regard to the form and content of the Bengali grammar.

Within generative framework, Nilima Chakraborty (2006) has attempted to show how the generative grammar formalism and the theories and principles of generative syntax postulated and proposed by Chomsky can be accounted for the Bengali language and grammar.

7. Script and Spelling

Recent studies on Bengali spelling and script have given birth to several new controversies, criticisms, and inconsistencies with regard to the standardisation and correctness of spelling of Bengali words. Since this issue has also created much furore among people, I intend to refer to some of these studies in an indirect manner rather than adding fuel in fire or formulating any value-based judgement about them. To refer to a few, Sumita Bhattacharya (2003) has highlighted the drawbacks found in the spelling system proposed by others, Mrinal Nath (2004) has raised questions about the

authority of the *Bangla Akademi, Kolkata* in its attempt for prescribing a spelling system and asking others to follow it; Kalyan Mandal (2004) has discussed how the irregularities in spelling have become a regular phenomenon of the language; Krishna Chattopadhyay (2004) has cynically requested people not to raise any question regarding the spellings proposed by *Bangla Akademi, Kolkata*; Niladrisekhar Dash (2004) has described the diversities of spelling observed in the corpus of modern Bengali texts; Naren Biswas (2005) has found some solutions to deal with the problems of spelling and utterance of Bengali words; Rabi Chakravarti (2005) has lamented for the loss of the heritage of the Bengali language as well as has argued for standardization of Bengali spelling in an systematic manner; Ashoke Mukhopadhyay (2005) has raised some questions about the formation and use of consonant conjuncts in Bengali writing; Kalim Khan (2005) has focused on the quicksand hidden beneath the proposals of spelling reform made by others; Niladrisekhar Dash (2007) has explored the linguistic relevance and functional importance of punctuation marks used in Bengali prose texts, and Apurbakumar Saha (2004) has edited a special issue of a little magazine totally devoted to the controversies of Bengali spelling.

Discussion of a different kind on Bengali spelling is found in the book of Mridulkanti Basu (2002) who has radically argued for introducing a new type of spelling and script for the Bengali language; Amitabha Mukhopadhyay (2005, 2007), on the other hand, is simply pedagogic in attitude in suggesting some simple rules for Bengali spelling; Narayan Haldar (2007) is highly inquisitive to find out the linguistic system that interlinks speech and writing of Bengali words; and Mitali Bhattacharya (2006) is systematic in her attempt for chronologically recording the history of suggestions and proposals so far made by the scholars on different aspects of Bengali spelling.

For the first time we have come across an attempt for studying empirically the patterns of variation of spelling of words in written Bengali prose texts in the book of Niladrisekhar Dash (2006). This study has not only opened up new avenues for theoretical and practical debates regarding the standardization and acceptance of modern Bengali spelling, but has also provided some directions for initiating attempts for investigating different types of spelling with analysis of language corpora obtained from various types of modern Bengali text.

8. Semantics

The area of semantics, in my view, is one of the less explored fields in Bengali linguistics, since in recent past we have come across only a few works where the modern issues of semantics are addressed with reference to the Bengali language. Most of the works in this area are more or less based on the age-old theories and issues of semantics as the following references show. Jyotibhusan Chaki (2002) has tried to dig out humor and pun mixed with meanings of some of the Bengali words used in regular vocabulary; Ramaprasad Das (2002) has discussed how some Bengali words are used to perform speech acts and how at some contexts the use of these words can evoke positive or negative results for the intended hearers; Nitish Biswas (2006) has attempted to find

out patterns of change of meanings of words along with change of time; Bijay Kabiraj (2006) has been interested to trace beauty and enigmatic charm embedded with some Bengali words; Rakhalraj Mukhopadhyay (2006) has compiled books with lists of connotative words, synonyms, and homonyms; Subodhkumar Yash (2005) has compared two separate lists of Bengali and Nepalese words to find out the cultural interfaces between the two languages and their speakers; Animeshkanti Pal (2004), following the historical scheme of lexicology, has tried to trace the history of origin of some common Bengali words, and Aliva Dakshi (2001) has described the form and nature of some onomatopoeic words used in modern Bengali language.

The availability of electronic corpus of written Bengali prose texts has led Niladrisekhar Dash (2002, 2003) to investigate the nature of polysemy of some frequently used Bengali words with reference to the examples available in the corpus. The study has opened up new possibilities for finding out intralinguistic as well as extralinguistic factors (e.g., contexts, situations, registers, motives, text type, discourse, etc.) that are instrumental for creating sense variation of polysemous words used in Bengali texts. He has also (Dash 2004, 2005) made attempt to design a computer-applicable model for understanding the nature of meaning variation of words and has proposed a strategy for extracting actual contextual meaning of words from a piece of text (Dash 2007: 139-178).

9. Language Education

Most of the Bengali scholars are interested to look into the present systems and techniques used for teaching Bengali to the native and foreign learners. While majority of scholars have referred to the age-old pedagogic approaches so far used for this purpose, others have proposed for adapting new strategies for the same purposes to elicit effective outputs. For instance, while Saurav Sikder (2001) has keen interest to chalk out guidelines for correct use of the language; Niladrisekhar Dash (2001) is interested to apply the Bengali corpus in teaching Bengali to the foreign and native learners; Narayan Chaudhuri and Manoranjan Chattopadhyay, in their edited volume (2002) have focused on the use of the language for child education in Bengali; Mohammad Daniul Huq (2001, 2006) has been interested in the theoretical issues related to language acquisition; Bhabesh Maitra (2004) and Manas Joarder (2005, 2006, 2007) have critically interweaved the network between language education and society as well as have highlighted the loopholes of the system of education; Samir Rakshit, in his edited volume (2004) has compiled some articles keeping in sight the basic issues of language education both in first and second language teaching; while Subhadrakumar Sen (2004) has been critical to reflect on the advantages and disadvantages in the new syllabus proposed by the education board of the state.

Notable diversion is noted in the attempts of some scholars when they argue for different pedagogic approaches to teach Bengali to the learners. While Shibaprasanna Lahiri and others (2005) are interested to devise rules about the use and abuse of the Bengali language in speech and writing; Hasan Mamud (2005) is interested to prescribe rules for valid Bengali writing; Ashoke Mukhopadhyay (2005) is ready to guide learners

with right pronunciation and choice of Bengali vocabulary; Pabitra Sarkar (2006), Subhas Bhattacharya (2007), and Jyotibhusan Chaki (2007) are interested to prescribesome easy rules of Bengali grammar and phonetics for learning 'good' and 'pure' Bengali; and Suresh Kundu (2008) is pedagogic in prescribing rules for learning English by the Bengali learners.

Important diversion within the sphere of language education is observed when Bijaykrishna Chakrabarti (2005) questions about the usefulness of the methods and strategies of training primary teachers for enhancing their teaching skill in their task of teaching primary language learners. Ashis Khastagir (2005, 2007), on the other hand, compiles the list of Primers written between 1815 and 1855 to critically examine the issues of morality-based language education imparted to the primary learners; Shyamal Chakrabarti (2006) explores the possibility and hurdles the government has to face in its attempt for spreading sex-education at school and college level in West Bengal; and Muhammad Habibur Rahman (2005) compiles an anthology of articles related to language education of the Bengali learners both at primary and advanced levels.

A new approach for adopting new techniques for teaching Bengali to the first and second language learners is proposed in a recent work of Niladrisekhar Dash (2007: 1-48), where the author has argued for utilizing Bengali language corpus as a resource for direct class-room teaching as well as for developing language teaching modules and materials such as syllabuses, textbooks, study materials, grammars, graded vocabularies, and dictionaries, etc. The *Corpus Assisted Language Teaching* (CALT) method proposed by the author has advantages both at the primary and the advanced levels in which the learners are allowed to access empirical language databases processed and preserved in digitized form. According to the author, following this process the learners, without the direct interference of the teachers, can enhance their own reading, listening, speaking, writing, and communication skill in the language.

I hope that recent innovation in the area of educational technology will inspire scholars to adapt on-line language teaching system for Bengali as it has many practical advantages over our traditional methods. Although there are several crucial issues related to the nature and application of on-line language teaching in Bengali, such as justifying its need in the present global context, technical aspects on which it depends, and its uniqueness in teaching finer aspects of the Bengali grammar, if it succeeds to combine the strategies of on-line teaching with the CALT method, both the native and foreign learners will learn Bengali in a much better way by on-line enrolment for the course. The robustness of the scheme will make on-line Bengali teaching a learner-oriented course that will provide flexibility in learning, verifiability in courseware, and availability of teaching beyond the barriers of time and space.

10. Translation

Any serious discussion on the theoretical and practical issues of translation has hardly been attempted in Bengali, though large numbers of Bengali translators are at present directly engaged in manual translation of both literary and non-literary texts.

Among the few works we come across, Ketaki Kushari Dyson (2006) has tried to deal with the problems related to translating texts composed by Rabindranath Tagore and others; Nityapriya Ghosh (2006) has made a comparison between the original Bengali poetic works and their translations in English and other languages, and Niladrisekhar Dash (2004, 2005) has focused on the issues involved in development of corpus-based machine translation system that can translate prose texts from English to Bengali.

11. Language Movement

Language movement is one of the highly attractive areas of study for some Bengali scholars. For example, while Ratanlal Chakrabarti (2004) meticulously tries to record the documents of language movement; Mohammad Doloyar Hosen (2004) tries to record the regional history of language movement of Bangladesh; Pranabesh Maiti (2005) is interested to understand the significance of the *International Mother Tongue Day* (i.e., 21st February); and Antara Mitra (2006), in the light of nationalism, tries to make a critical analysis of the language of the mass.

In a different frame Bhabanishankar Chakarbarty (2006) is worried about the present and future of the Bengali language; Niladrisekhar Dash (2007, 2008) is quite optimistic about it as he visualizes the future prospects of the language with introduction of the fields like cognitive linguistics, semiotics, forensic linguistics, corpus linguistics, language technology and others; Sanjida Khatun (2005) and Dinanath Sen (2006) are charmed with the beauty and treasure of the Bengali language while Ashis Lahiri (2008) is passionate in making a general appeal to the Bengali people to return to their mother tongue; and Pabitra Sarkar (2003) is interested to look into the interplay of love-hate relationship between the 'mother tongue' and the 'other tongue' of the native Bengali speakers.

12. Language Planning

The area of language planning is almost left unattended in Bengali. Whatever is published during this period is mostly of preliminary nature as the following citations show. Monsur Musa (2003) ponders over the proposition for making Bengali the *National Language* of Bangladesh; Mohammad Daniul Huq (2003) critically evaluates the present linguistic situation of Bangladesh in the context of language planning; Nurul Huda (2005) argues for standardization of technical and scientific terms in Bengali; and Udaya Narayana Singh (2004) investigates the issues of language preservation and planning in the context of Indian languages, including Bengali.

13. Lexicography

Although discussions on theoretical issues of lexicography have, more or less, remained unexplored in Bengali, the task of dictionary compilation has become an area of high enthusiasm among the scholars. As a result, during last few years, we have come across publication of several Bengali dictionaries covering different areas of lexicography. For instance, Monsur Musa and Monoara Elias (2003) have compiled a

dictionary of English words used in Bengali; Milan Dutta (2008) has produced a dictionary of colloquial Islamic words used in Bengali; Kaji Raphikul Haque (2002) has compiled a dictionary of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hindi and Urdu words used in Bengali; Ajay Dasgupta and Mrinalkanti Das (2006) have designed a dictionary of foreign words found in modern Bengali; Chittaranjan Maiti (2005) and Sukumar Pal (2006) have developed a dictionary of person names used in Bengali; Harsahbardhan Ghosh (2007) has made a Bengali dictionary of pseudo names; Alibha Dakshi (2001) has complied a dictionary of Bengali onomatopoeic words and a dictionary of linguistic terms used in Bengali (Dakshi 2003); Amitabha Mukhopadhyay (2005) and Abu Ishak (2001) have compiled two general referential Bengali dictionaries; and Muhammad Enamul Hauque (2004) has designed a usage-based dictionary of modern Bengali language.

Almost in the same way, Mohammad Abdul Kaium and Razia Sultana (2004) have developed a dictionary of words used in Old Bengali and Middle Bengali period; Dilipkumar Mitra (2006) has compiled a dictionary of quotable quotations; Bitashok Bhattacharya (2006) has developed a dictionary of terms of Bengali language and literature; Manzurur Rahaman (2003) has compiled a historical dictionary and a dictionary of words and terms related to commerce and business (Mahphuzur Rahman 2004); Barunkumar Chakrabarti (2005) has developed a dictionary of terms of Bengali folkloristics; Jagannath Chakrabarty (2005) has compiled a dictionary of the dialect of *Barack Valley* of Assam; Mritunjay Sen and Jaydeb Ghosh (2005) have designed a dictionary of Bengali writers; Shourav Sikder (2003) has compiled a dictionary of Bengali language and literature; Chinmay Guha (2008) and Himanish Goswami (2008) have developed two new dictionaries of 'daffynition' of Bengali words.

In the area of Bengali spelling, we find that while Muhammad Harun-ur-Rasid (2003) has developed a dictionary for easy spelling following the spelling rules proposed by the *Bangla Academy*, Dhaka, Bangladesh; Pabitra Sarkar, Amitabha Mukhopadhyay and Prasantakumar Dasgupta (2003) have developed a different spelling dictionary for Bengali following the guidelines proposed by the *Bangla Akademi*, Kolkata, West Bengal. Ashoke Mukhopadhyay (2004), on the other hand, has compiled another dictionary for Bengali spelling following the rules defined by *Sahitya Samsad*, Kolkata; Shailen Chakrabarti (2006) has developed a dictionary of new Bengali spelling. While Saraswati Mishra (2000) deserves special thanks for her sincere effort for recording the chronological history of development of dictionary in Bengali covering last three centuries; Sucharita Bandyopadhyay (2005) miserably fails in her attempt for analyzing contents and methodologies of some earlier Bengali dictionaries.

Although we notice much interest and enthusiasm for compiling Bengali dictionary of different types and kinds, we hardly find any work that has shown interest about the theoretical and technical issues related to compilation of a dictionary of any kind. Recently, Niladrisekhar Dash (2006, 2007) has made some efforts to deal with the issues related to data collection, wordform sorting, headword collection, entry word selection, pronunciation, definitional meaning, lexico-grammatical information, usage,

synonym, citation, and illustration, etc. for compiling a general usage-based Bengali dictionary both in electronic and printed version.

14. Dialectology

Dialectology is another area of interest among the Bengali scholars as the Bengali language records many dialects spoken at various regions of West Bengal as well as at other regions across the boundary of state and country. With so many dialectal varieties in the language, it is quite natural that scholars will be interested to find out the uniqueness of the varieties as well as to know how each variety relates to others and to the standard variety. Since it is not possible to refer to the salient features of each study in a list of several professional and amateurish studies on Bengali dialects, the best option open to me is to refer to only a few studies, which I consider representative to the general discussion of dialects of the language.

Bhaba Ray (2001) has studied the dialect spoken at the *Rarha* region in the district of Bardwan, West Bengal and has compiled a lexical database of the dialect; Mir Rejaul Karim (2001) has studied the dialect and culture of the *Shersabadiya* speech community living in the district of Maldah, West Bengal; Balaichand Haldar (2002) has explored the dialect spoken at Diamond Harbour region in the district of South 24 Parganas, West Bengal; Sakhawat Ansari (2002) has analyzed the religious words of the *Dhamrai* dialect; Krishnapriya Bhattacharya (2002) has studied the dialects of the *Tarai and Duars region* of North Bengal to compile a lexicon of the dialect; Shourav Sikder (2002) has presented an introductory description of the *Khumi* language — an endangered language spoken in Bangladesh; and Animeshkanti Pal (2003) has done simple analysis of the dialect used in the district of Midnapore, West Bengal.

In similar fashion, Chanda Ghoshal (2004) has described the Bengali dialect spoken in the state of Jharkhand; Prakashkumar Maiti (2004) has tried to identify the threads of similarities among the dialects used in the district of Midnapore, West Bengal; Ashimkumar Manna (2005) has complied a list of obsolete and near-obsolete lexical items used in the coastal region of the district of East Midnapore, West Bengal; Jagannath Chakrabarti (2005) has described the dialect spoken at the *Barak Valley* of the *Northern Kachar* district of *Assam* as well as has developed a dictionary of the dialect; Shourav Sikder (2005) has complied a guidebook on Santali and Oraon language; Nur Muhammad Mallick (2006) has made an attempt to show how syntax of the dialect spoken in the district of *Barishal,* Bangladesh shows differences compared to the standard Bengali syntax used in Bangladesh; and Balaichand Haldar (2007) has tried to present a general picture of the dialects spoken in the district of South 24 Parganas, West Bengal.

Although the investigators have tried to address several issues related to phonology, morphology, semantics, lexicology, proverbs, and syntax, etc. of the dialects within the traditional frame of dialectology, most of them deserve thanks due to their attempts for documenting the unique linguistic features of the dialects. However, since most of the studies are undertaken within the traditional frame of dialectology, we can easily

identify some shortfalls in these works particularly in selection of target dialect communities, planning in systematic dialect surveys, preparation of questionnaires, training of field workers, selection of informants, process of conducting interviews, manners of language data collection, method in data compilation, technique in data processing and analysis, and in the process of inference drawing. These limitations have led Niladrisekhar Dash (2005, 2006) to propose for corpus-based approach — an alternative method which has capability to overcome all the major shortfalls of traditional dialectology (Dash 2007: 101-138).

15. Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics, due to its panoramic scope, diverse manifestation, and strong impact on the mass, is often considered as one of the most captivating areas of linguistic investigation for some Bengali scholars. Since serious sociolinguistic researches into the social texture of the Bengali speech community are yet to be started, the studies so far made concentrate only on a few prominent aspects of Bengali language and life relating to the patterns of use of Bengali proverbs and idiomatic expressions, slang, jargon, gender-bias, and others.

With regard to use of Bengali idiomatic expressions and proverbs, while Sushilkumar De (2002) focuses on the use of proverbs in children riddles and rhymes in Bengali; Panchugopal Bhattacharya (2002) presents a list of Bengali idioms tagged with linguistic interpretations; Bijay Kabiraj (2002) analyses the form, content, and contexts of use of Bengali proverbs in general; Sabita Dutta Majumder (2004) investigates the socio-cultural interfaces operating behind the use of idiomatic and proverbial expressions in Bengali; Kalyani Dutta (2004) and Sudeshna Basak (2007) compile idioms and proverbs used in the language; and Ashokekumar De (2004, 2005, 2007), with indispensable sociolinguistic interpretations, goes beyond the level of simple compilation of idioms and proverbs to trace their origin and growth, their semantic content and manifestations, connotative implication of near-similar set expressions, socio-cultural relations among the expressions, and the errors made in teaching these to the learners.

In a different frame, Mananjali Bandhyopadhyay and Kalyan Chakrabarti (2005) study the use of elements noted in destroying crops in Bengali proverbs; Biplab Chakrabarti, in his edited volume (2006), evaluates the nature and style of Bengali proverbs; while Manindralal Kundu (2007) describes the use of idioms, proverbs, and riddles in the *Rajbanshi* dialect. These works are useful in the sense that they directly contribute in understanding the life and living of the Bengali speech community reflected in their use of idioms, proverbs and similar set expressions in the language.

The Bengali speech community, similar to other speech communities, are gifted with and skilled in use of slang, as it is clearly manifested in the works of Manaskumar Roychaudhury (2001), Biplab Gupta (2001), Ganesh Gupta (2001), Nandadulal Bhattacharya (2002), Ajit Ray (2004), Abhra Basu (2005) and others. These scholars have not only complied lists of Bengali slang, jargons, cants, taboos, and sex-related

terms, but also have included discussions related to the socio-cultural and psychological factors operating behind the use of such linguistic forms in regular Bengali speech and writing. Also, borrowed lexical items related to slang have been an area of curiosity and investigation for them for drawing inferences about the wider socio-cultural spectrum of the lexical items used in the language.

The study of sex-based use of language in standard Bengali as well as in its dialects is another area for sociolinguistic investigation for some scholars. Following the widely accepted norms and cues normally used for identifying sex-based language, Udayakumar Chakrabarti (2002) makes an attempt to show how the female members of the Bengali society use specific words and terms hardly used by the male members; while Sharmila Basu Dutta (2000), Sutapa Bhattacharya (2000), and Rajib Chakraborty and Aditi Bhunia (2007) try to show how several sex-based words are stored and used in Bengali folk songs, idioms, riddles, rhymes, and proverbs, etc. These studies contribute heavily to define the role of gender and power in the use of language of the speakers in the Bengali society. Similar to most other languages, Bengali also preserves a high amount of sex-based words to construct individual gender identities and larger gender orders, which sometimes tend to submerge the personal identity of the female members of the society. Bengali is also inflicted with 'sexism' as both male and female members of the society try to maintain different class relationships with the 'private language' they speak and write.

Besides these, there are other scholars who focus on some of the important aspects of sociolinguistics. For instance, when Rajib Humayun (2001) discusses various issues of sociolinguistics in general in the form of a textbook intended for university students, Sandip Bandyopadhyay, in his edited volume (2003) compiles some seminal Bengali articles on sociolinguistics to give common Bengali people some rudimentary ideas about the field, and Debesh Ray (2003) focuses on the unique features of 'special use' of Bengali language in different spheres of human interaction beyond the realm of the 'normal use'.

16. Folkloristics

In the area of folkloristics, while Saugata Chattopadhyay (2000) compiles and edits a book on Bengali children rhymes; Shaktinath Jha (2003) compiles a collection of songs used by the common people when they do laborious works; Saiyad Shahrier Rahman (2005) delves into the interface between folk language and language of folk literature, and searches for the pragmatics of folk-register in dialogues and songs of the novel *Khoyabnama*.

Almost in similar manner, Bikashkanti Midya (2006) studies the interface between folk heritage and the names of Bengali people; Saiyad Shahrier Rahman (2005) makes semiotic analysis to interpret the myth of *Rishshosringa*; Sunil Saha (2006) investigates the impact of Bengali society and culture on Bengali folksongs; Shyamali Sur (2006) proposes to study the local history of Bengali dialects; Dulal Chaudhury (2007) tries to define the methods for studying folk language and culture, and develops a terminology

database used in folkloristics; Achintya Biswas, in his edited volume (2008), focuses on the impact of Bengali popular cultures on Bengali literature; and Soumen Sen (2008) proposes some theoretical and practical issues considered relevant for exploring the form and features of Bengali folklosristics.

17. Psycholinguistics

Publication of research works and studies related to psycholinguistics has been an utterly neglected area in Bengali. Among the scanty works we come across so far, Nripen Bhaumik (2002) first makes an attempt to describe the relation between language and brain and then (Nripen Bhaumik 2003) has discussed the factors that operate behind memorization and forgetfulness of normal human beings; Pranabkumar Chakrabarty and Nrisinghakumar Bhattacharya (2005) have evaluated the psychology operating behind the process of learning a natural language and other things of life.

18. Stylistics

During last few years we have observed that some scholars have turned their attention towards stylistics to address some of the major issues and theories of stylistics with reference to the Bengali texts used both in prose and poetry. Although all the avenues of stylistics are not yet explored, attempts are made to highlight some of the domains of stylistics. For instance, Uttam Das (2001) and Dhrubakumar Mukhopadhyay (2002) have studied the inherent form and nature of rhetoric and prosody in Bengali poetic compositions; Abantikumar Sanyal (2002) has analysed the history and content of Indian poetics; Achinta Biswas (2003) has analyzed the style of poetry with a focus on various theories and their implementation; Biplab Chakrabarti, in his edited volume (2003) has complied essays related to objective and subjective analysis of Bengali literary works; Bisvajit Ghosh (2003) in interested to define strategies for reading and understanding Bengali literary texts; Bitashok Bhattacharya (2004) has focused on the structure and form of Bengali prose texts; while Shourav Sikder (2004) has analysed the style of Bengali prose fiction and short stories with reference to some literary texts.

Almost in the same manner, Bitashok Bhattacharya (2005) has explored the conceptual interfaces between language and style; Achinta Biswas (2005) has done a survey on the theories of poetics; Nabanita Chakrabarti (2005) has investigated into the prose style used in Bengali short stories; Mohammad Daniul Huq (2005) has reflected on the salient stylistic features of Bengali literary works; Abhijit Majumdar (2005) has analysed the stylistic features manifested in *Candimangal;* Panchanan Malakar (2005) has focused on the figurative elements used in modern Bengali literary texts; Ramakrishna Bhattacharya (2005) has investigated into the uniqueness of style found in the language used in *Alaler Gharer Dulal*; and Dhrubakumar Mukhopadhyay (2005) has described the origin, the form, and the use of Bengali rhetoric.

In a different way Subhas Bhattacharya (2006) has received signals of divergence in the modern Bengali poems; Pramathanath Bishi and Bijitkumar Dutta, in an edited volume (2006), have collected some articles dealing with the history of Bengali prose

related to stylistics; Tanmay Bir (2007) has compiled articles to exhibit the impact of modern stylistics on modern Bengali poetry; Udaychand Dash (2007) has shown transformation of style in Bengali short stories; Nityapriya Ghosh, in his edited volume (2007) has collected articles that intend to reflect on the stylo-linguistic differences between spoken and written Bengali; Saiyad Shahrier Rahman (2007) has investigated into the indigenous life portrayed in the short stories of Bangladesh; Ajay Ray (2007) has studied the use of metaphors and allegories in modern Bengali literary works; while Biplab Maji (2008) has described the language and style used in Bengali fictions.

The theoretical issues of stylistics are not altogether ignored. Apurbakumar Ray (2006) and Subhas Bhattacharya (2006) has focussed on the rudimentary features of stylistics; Abhijit Majumdar (2007) is elaborative on almost all the major principles, theories, and models used in stylistic interpretation of literary texts; Dhiman Dasgupta (2006) has tried to show how various stylistic strategies and used in formation of prose texts in Bengali; Bhabesh Das (2007) has emphasised on the features of the Bengali language used in broadcasting and telecasting; while Satrajit Goswami (2006) has shown interested to present a simple description about the rhetorics used in literary Bengali texts for popular understanding.

19. Historical Linguistics

In the area of historical linguistics, scholars are interested to study the old linguistic works to establish their relevance in the present context of linguistic research and investigation in Bengali. Keeping this goal in mind, Mrinal Nath (2001) presents a survey on the Bengali linguistic of the 20th century; Shourav Sikder (2001) describes the history of Old Bengal and Bengali; Atul Sur (2001) describes the evolution of the Bengali race and their language; Feroza Yasmin (2002) discusses origin, development, and consequence of the debate between literal and colloquial Bengali; Golam Murshid (2002) traces the evolution of the Bengali prose in different centuries; Shourav Sikder (2003) searches for the relation between Indo-Aryan language and contemporary Bengali; Begum Gulshan Ara (2003), from a diachronic point of view, studies trends and nature of language science; while Deoyan Golam Mostapha (2003) delves into origin and growth of script and the evolution of the script-based civilizations.

In a different platform within the same frame, Achinta Biswas (2004) digs into the form and content of *Bengali manuscripts;* Sunandankumar Sen (2004) reflects on the *urheimat* of the Aryans before they migrated and settled in the Northern India; Anita Bandyopadhyay (2005) analyses the use of colloquial (i.e., *calit*) words in some Bengali prose texts composed in the 18th century; Dilipkumar Bhattacharya (2005) studies the history of Sanskrit study in Bengali language; Somen Ghosh (2005) discuses about the history of study of films in Bengali language; Amitabha Mukhopadhyay (2005) presents a socio-historical perspective of completion of *Varnaparichaya* of Vidyasagar; Shaurindrakumar Ghosh (2006) searches for the identify of the Bengali race through language and culture; Pabita Sarkar *et al.* (2006) and Dipankar Ghosh (2007) in edited volumes, compile articles written by earlier scholars about the various aspects of Bengali language and linguistics; Subhas Bhattacharya (2006) narrates the history of

birth and growth of a language; Osman Gani (2007) describes about Islamic Bengali literature and Bengali manuscripts; Ashish Khastagir (2006) describes the printing press, newspapers and magazines of the 19th century Bengal; and Tarun Mukhopadhyay, on the occasion of centenary of publication of *Carya Songs* (1906), in his edited volume (2008), complies articles written by scholars of different times.

The volume edited by Swapan Chakrabarti (2008) belongs to a different genre where the contributors are akin to explore the ethics and strategy so far used in case of publication of Bengali books. This work highlights some of the impeccable differences we come across in the publications of the western world and that of the Bengali publishers.

20. Corpus Linguistics

Publication in Bengali in the area of corpus linguistic and language technology related to the Bengali language is first noted in the work of Niladrisekhar Dash (2002), although availability of the corpus has led Bidyutbaran Chaudhuri (2002) to define the patterns of error in usage of words as well as to make a statistical survey on the frequency of use of words in the written texts of the language. He has also tried (Bidyutbaran Chaudhuri 2003, 2005) to give some ideas how a computer can speak in Bengali and how the Braille writing system can be computerized in Bengali for the visually challenged people. Saiyad Shahrier Rahman (2004) has done a computational-linguistic analysis of the Bengali spelling system to supply rules for designing a Bengali spelling checking system, and Mina Dan (2005) has analysed the problems of Bengali /ɔ/ in case of developing system for automatic text-to-speech conversion in Bengali. Besides these few works, almost all the publications in this area of corpus linguistics are contributed by Niladrisekhar Dash with a mission for popularising this new approach to empirical language research among the Bengali people. For years he has been making whole-hearted attempts for publishing regularly in this area so that common Bengali people can realise the importance and benefits of corpus-based study of the Bengali language and join with him to serve the language in a more fruitful manner.

Since corpus-based approach to study a language depends heavily on large representative collection of samples of text of regular language use, it cannot ignore the importance of data, information, and examples obtained from corpus for faithful analysis of a language as well as for upgrading our traditional knowledgebase of the language. That corpus-based study excels over traditional linguistic methods is well established in most of his works, where he has systematically shown the value of the Bengali corpus in dialect study, language teaching, dictionary compilation, usage-based grammar writing, word meaning disambiguation, and machine translation (Dash 2007). He has also shown how data and information retrieved from the Bengali corpus can contribute towards the solution of problems related to Bengali spelling and pronunciation, and how information about the frequency of use of Bengali letters and words in written texts can contribute in designing language teaching text books and reference materials (Dash 2008).

Since only a few corpus-based works in the Bengali language is carried out so far, we realize that a vast area of descriptive linguistics, applied linguistics, and language technology still unexplored within this approach. For instance, we are yet to start serious research and development works in natural language processing, machine learning, speech processing, developing resources for e-learning, designing text materials for computer-based language education and training, etc. These goals can be achieved only when Bengali scholars start developing Bengali language corpora and start utilizing these to devise intelligent systems to address various needs of the time.

21. Individual Contributions

Finally, in this small survey on the works related Bengali linguistics, I intend to focus on some of the works where the authors have diverted their attention to analyse the contributions of the scholars of earlier years as well as to evaluate the relevance of their contributions in the present context of linguistic research and development of the language. Pabitra Sarkar (2006) has tried to present the contribution of various earlier scholars in the area of Bengali language and linguistics; Shourav Sikder (2001) has described the language and style of writing of Michael Madhusudan Datta; Mrinal Nath (2002) has evaluated the contributions of Gopal Haldar in Bengali linguistics; Muhammad Siddiqi Rahaman (2002) has analysed thoughts of Pramatha Chaudhuri related to language of Bengali prose text; Ramakrishna Bhattacharya (2003) has critically analyzed the prose style of Brahmabandhab Upadhyay; Sakhawat Ansari (2003) has evaluated the contributions of Munir Chowdhuri to Bengali language and linguistics; Sandip Bandyopadhyay (2003) has reminded us about the contributions made by Hemantakumar Sarkar in Bengali linguistics; Amitabha Mukhopadhyay (2003) has discussed about the *Shabdasangraha* of Vidyasagar; Bibhabasu Dutta (2006) has analyzed the style of prose composition of Vidyasagar; Hiren Chattopadhyay (2004) has evaluated the linguistic thoughts of Asitkumar Bandyopadhyay; and Apurbakumar Ray (2005) has discussed how Asitkumar Bandyopadhyay was able to critically estimate the form and texture of the Bengali written prose at the stage of its birth and growth.

The contributions of Rabindranath Tagore in the area of Bengali language and linguistics have been a topic of great interest for several scholars. Shourav Sikder (2001) has discussed the versatile talent of Rabindranath in different areas of aesthetics, language, and linguistics; Subhas Bhattacharya (2005) has recorded the overwhelming impact of Rabindranath on the Bengali language and literature; Bitashok Bhattacharya (2006) and Ujjwalkumar De (2006) have interpreted stylistically the language and rhymes used in the poetic works of Rabindranath; Rabi Chakravarti and Kalim Khan (2006) have made an effort to show how the Bengali language became the treasure of the East with the contributions of Rabindranath; Ashoke Mukhopadhyay (2006) has proposed how the literary creations of Rabindranth can be complied in compact disk for electronic access by the mass; and Bratin Chattopadhyay (2008) has evaluated how Rabindranath with his innovative thoughts has contributed in the area of education in Bengal.

22. Conclusion

In this short survey on the Bengali works in language and linguistics published during last eight years (2001-2008), I have tried to be short and sketchy so that I succeed to include as many works as possible within the space allotted for the survey. Although precise in review, I have tried to focus on almost all the major areas of Bengali language and linguistics with an expectation that this survey may succeed to ignite interest among the readers for the works mentioned here as well as for the works which I fail to include in this survey.

I must admit that the present survey is not complete, since I have failed to trace and include here several works published in books, little magazines, and periodicals across the state and countries. It is simply beyond my capacity to trace and collect all these works at individual level and refer them meticulously in the present survey, by which I would have been able to faithfully mention the contribution of each work. Notwithstanding such limitations, the present survey succeeds to refer to the status of present activities as well as succeeds to focus on the furure course of works for the language.

With optimism, I observe that an unprecedented enthusiasm is brewing up for serious research and development activities for the Bengali language and linguistics, particularly in the area of natural language processing, language technology, speech technology, educational technology, corpus linguistics, etc. I hope that with recent establishment of the *Society for Natural Language Technology Research* (SNLTR) the new generation of Bengali scholars will come forward to work in these areas, as technology-based linguistic activities are opening up new avenues for the scholars to develop systems, tools and materials for the language for education, information exchange and utilization.

The present needs of language technology will surely lead the new generation of scholars to probe into the internal form, texture, and content of the language by analysing Bengali language and speech corpora to develop systems and resources to meet the new demands of the time. Also, the research into various linguistic properties and their functions will lead the scholars to interpret the Bengali language in a new perspective and purpose. Such a paradigm shift appears inevitable as the applicational relevance of the language is no more confined within the periphery of description and teaching. Rather it is expanded beyond the traditional frame to enter into the spheres of language understanding, language teaching and training, interlingual translation, publication, interlingual communication, information exchange, documentation, and archiving.

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Recent Linguistic Studies in Punjabi

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1. Introduction

This is a brief descriptive report on the main linguistic research published in Punjabi since the year 2001.

2. General Studies

Dhaliwal (2002) and Saksena (2001) provide a general introduction to linguistics. Sangha (2001b) and Harkirat Singh (2004) provide a general introduction to the structure of Punjabi language. Harkirat Singh (2004) provides information on the formation of Punjabi language. Jassal (2006b) and Kang (2001) provide information on Punjabi linguists and de Saussure. Harkirat Singh (2003a), Joshi (2001a), Joga Singh (2004) and J.S. Puar (2001a,b) are other works commenting on the linguistic studies and issues in Punjabi. Parmjit Singh (2005) describes how linguistic model can help analyzing the communication models. Thind (2004) is a collection of articles sketching Prem Prakash Singh Dhaliwal's life and his contribution to Punjabi linguistics.

3. Phonetics & Phonology

This is one of the areas on which very few write ups are available. Sukhjit Kaur (2001) enumerates Punjabi suprasegmentals. Updesh Kaur (2001) discusses some phonetic properties of Punjabi word structure. Updesh Kaur (2006b) is an elaborate study of Punjabi phonology. Shastri (2001) discusses sound change in Punjabi while Gurmukh Singh (2001) advocates the suitability of Gurmukhi script for the Punjabi language.

4. Morphology

Agnihotri (2001b) discovers the non-segmental affixes in Punjabi. Agnihotri (2001c) surveys the indeclinable categories in Punjabi. Agnihotri (2003) is a description of word formation processes in Punjabi language. Brar (2006) points towards the creativity of morphological processes. Cheema (2002) discusses the bases of classification of words. Dhaliwal (2004b) introduces basic concepts of morphology and then provides descriptive morphological analysis of major Punjabi word classes. Kanwaljit Kaur (2001) discusses the potential of word coinage in Punjabi while Kanwaljit Kaur (2007) is a descriptive account of Punjabi pronouns. Sidhu (2002b) describes the linguistic structure of one composition of Guru Granth, the Sikh scripture.

5. Syntax

Syntax has relatively drawn a good attention of Punjabi linguists. Joga Singh (2003c) brings out strong evidence to refute the theoretical position that word order (in the sense of phrase order) is free in Punjabi. Boota Brar (2003d) and Joga Singh (2002) provide brief introduction to Transformational Generative grammar. The latter, perhaps, is one of the best introductions to the theoretical foundations of Chomskyan syntax. Boota Brar (2003) and Cheema (2001) discuss the present stage of Punjabi syntactic studies while Bhupinder Kaur (2001) is a discussion on old Punjabi grammars. Agnihotri (2007), Boota Brar (2001), Cheema (2003a,b, 2007), Dhandli (2003), Jassal (2002), S.S. Joshi (2001c) and Sewak Singh (2002) are other works devoted to various aspects of Punjabi syntax.

6. Semantics

Sidhu (2006b), Sidhu and Ramanprit Kaur (2003b), and Sewak Singh (2004) describe semantics of some part or the other of the Sikh scripture.

7. Semiotics

The Linguistics department at Punjabi University, Patiala (India) was founded by an internationally known semiotician Harjeet Singh Gill and it has spawned a number of semiotic studies of Punjabi language and culture. The tradition is still continued by the students of the Patiala Department.

Harjit Gill (2001) contributes to understanding the basic semiological functions of language. Bajwa (2001) points out the neglect of semiotic significance of word-culture. Jeet Joshi (2004), Parmjit Sidhu (2001b), and Parmjit Sidhu and Ramanprit Kaur (2005a) describe semiotics of some folk forms. Parmjit Sidhu (2002a) describes the semiotic structure of a particular novel.

The Sikh scripture and its language is a topic of quite a number of studies. Boota Brar (2003a,c) and Parmjit Sidhu and Ramanprit Kaur (2003a, 2004a, 2004b) are works in this vein.

8. History of Punjabi Language

Brar (2004b, 2005c), Cheema (2003c), Dhaliwal (2004a), Jassal (2004b), Jasbir Kaur (2001) explore the origin and development of Punjabi language. Gupta (2001), Kadri (2001), Pritam Singh (2006), and Gulwant Singh (2001) are discussions on the relations of Punjabi language with one language or the other.

9. Lexicography

Bahri (2001), Dhot (2001), Jeet S. Joshi (2003), S.S. Joshi (2001b), Kapoor (2004), Kumari (2001), Machwe (2001), Ryal (2001), Shan (2001), Bakhshish Singh (2006) Harkirat Singh (2001), Onkar Singh (2001b), Sital (2001), Suman Preet (2005) and

Tanvi (2005) discuss general issues pertaining to the practice of lexicography and comment on Punjabi lexicographic practice.

The monolingual general purpose Punjabi dictionary published during this period is Hasija (2001b). Hasija (2001a), S.S. Joshi (2002), and Major Gurmukh Singh (2002) are the bilingual dictionaries. Sekhon (2007) is a dictionary of the Malwai dialect of Punjabi and Bakhshish Singh (2002) is a Punjabi-English dictionary of Punjabi idioms.

10. Dialectology

Updesh Kaur (2006a) gives an account of the major dialects of Punjabi while Harkirat Singh (2003b) provides a brief introduction to the Multani dialect.

11. Text Analysis

Linguistic analysis of literary works is the most widely explored are after language policy/planning. Agnihotri (2001a), Boota Brar (2004a, 2005a,b), Iqbal Dhillon (2002), Jassal (2003, 2004a, 2006a,c, 2007a,b), Palwinder Kaur (2001b, 2001c), Sangha (2001a, 2003a,b, 2004, 2006), Sangha and Palwinder Kaur (2003), Parmjit Sidhu (2006a), Parmjit Sidhu and Ramanprit Kaur (2004b, 2005c), Prem Prakash Singh (2005) and Joga Singh and Poonam Dhillon (2007) are works of this nature.

12. Punjabi Language Teaching

Agnihotri (2001d), Bala (2001), Bining (2005), S.S. Joshi (2003a), Palwinder Kaur (2001a), Ranjit Kaur (2007), Sangha and Palwinder Kaur (2001) and Agyajit Singh (2003) discuss issues such as the teaching of Gurmukhi script, teaching various aspects of Punjabi language structure, and the teaching of Punjabi in different regions of India.

13. Language Technology and Punjabi Language

Johl (2003) and Lehl and Bhatti (2003) are discussions by computer scientists relating to technological challenges before Punjabi language while Parmjit Sidhu (2003a) and Onkar Singh (2001a) are similar discussions by language experts.

14. Language Policy

This aspect has been most written about. One reason being the relative non-technicality of the area but more important than this is the concern the Punjabi academia shows for the dilution in the status of Punjabi language vis-à-vis the English language. There are a number of studies discussing the state and place of Punjabi language in the contemporary Indian Punjab and Indian context. These include Bala (2001), Jagjit Brar (2001), Dhingra (2001), Darshan Gill (2005b), Joshi (2003c), Dhanwant Kaur (2003), Madhopuri (2001), Sandhu (2005b), Sangha (2007), Gurmel Sidhu (2005), Parmjit Sidhu (2003b) and Pritam Singh (2003). There are a number of studies describing the state and place of Punjabi in other countries. These are – Gill (2005a) and Dhanwant

Kaur (2003) for the scene in different countries around the world and Bining (2001) for Canada, Shivcharan Gill (2005) for Great Britain, Dharam Singh (2001), Kulwinder Singh (2001), Thind (2003) and Zaman (2003) for the scene in Pakistan. The rising number of English medium schools and total paralysation of the Punjabi medium government schools has drawn a particular attention of serious linguistic scholarship. Joga Singh (2003a) provides a survey of the major research done internationally on the issue of medium of instruction. The study also discusses the place of mother tongue in the life of an individual and a society and thus strongly argues against English being used as medium of instruction. The study foretells the frightening social, educational, and political consequences of this unscientific policy. S.S. Joshi (2003b), Nirankari (2001), Sharma (2003), Joga Singh (2003b), and Surjeet Singh (2003) are the other studies devoted to the issue. Balwinder Kaur (2001), Sandhu (2001), and Onkar Singh (2003) delineate what needs to be done for the development of Punjabi language. Bhardwaj (2005) and Noor (2005) take up the issue of the suitability of particular script for the Punjabi language. Joga Singh and Gurbax Singh (2004) discuss the social forces responsible for the formation of Punjabi language in the sense of sociology of a particular language.

15. Conclusion

As has been stated in the beginning, a rigorous analysis of Punjabi language in terms of recent linguistic theories is lacking in the publications in Punjabi. There are only a very few studies which follow strict formal analysis. But there are quite many articles of semi-formal nature. As for areas attracting attention of the scholars, language policy/planning and text analysis seem to be the fields which have occupied more space than the others. Syntax and the language of the scripture are other relatively busy areas. When compared with the earlier decade, there seems to be a marked acceleration in publications in Punjabi on Punjabi language structure.

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Linguistic Studies in Kashmiri

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1. Introduction

Linguistic studies of Kashmiri, comprising of grammars, grammatical studies, lexicography, phonology etc., began in the middle of the 19th century. The grammatical literature includes a variety of materials written in the form of brief notes, articles, monographs, dissertations, and independent grammatical sketches and grammars. The lexicographical works include different types of vocabularies, glossaries and dictionaries. The linguistic studies available can be classified in the areas of genealogical classification and dialect surveys, grammars and grammatical studies, phonetics and phonology, lexicography, sociolinguistics and instructional materials. Here an attempt will be made to present a brief survey of certain significant materials prepared in and on this language.

2. Classification

The genealogical classification of Kashmiri began with Grierson (1906), placing it in the Dardic group of Aryan languages. Morgenstierne (1961) classifies it among Indo-Aryan languages and is followed by all others in this règard. The classification is reviewed in Kachru (1969) and Koul and Schmidt (1984). In more recent work, Afaq Aziz (1994) presents a comparative study of various languages of the Dardic group, with special reference to Kashmiri, Shina, and Kohistani. Koul (1994, 2000) repeats previous stands on the subject. Masica (1991) refers to linguistic characteristics of Kashmiri as compared to other Indo-Aryan languages.

3. Phonetics and Phonology

Kashmiri has peculiar phonetic and phonological characteristics, such as the high central and mid vowels, dental affricates, palatalisation, vowel harmony rules, etc., which it does not share with other Indo-Aryan languages. The description of Kashmiri phonetics and phonology, or of issues related to some of its special characteristics is available in Grierson (1904, 1911, 1919), Bailey (1937), Firth (1939), Morgenstierne (1941), Sidheswar Verma (1964), Kelkar and Trisal (1964), Sar (1970, 1977), Handoo (1973), Zakharyin (1974), Koul (1977, 1985, 1987), Bhat (1987), Wali and Koul (1997) and Koul and Wali (2006). These works present briefly the principal phonological characteristics of Kashmiri.

4. Grammar

There has been very significant research in the area of Kashmiri grammar. Kashmiri is Verb 2 language. This is the feature, which it shares with German, Dutch and Icelandic. Grammatical works on Kashmiri began as early as mid-19th century, with Edgworth (1841) and Leech (1944) followed by a complete grammatical description of the language in Ishvar Koul's monumental work Kashmirshabdamritam, written in Sanskrit in 1879, edited by George A Grierson, and published by Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1889. Grierson calls it "an excellent grammar of Kashmiri" and based quite a few of his works on it. Grierson published his *Standard Manual of Kashmiri Language* in 1911, and also provided a sketch of Kashmiri grammar in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (1919: Vol. 8, part 2). He also published papers by Burkhard (1887–1889) in his *Essays on Kashmiri Language* (1899). Some other grammatical descriptions by European scholars continued till the middle of the 20th century.

Though the tradition of presenting grammatical sketches and descriptions continued till midway through the 20th century, serious works on the subject commenced from the early sixties following the models of grammars prepared in other Indian languages. Trisal's doctoral dissertation (1964) is the first descriptive grammar of Kashmiri written in Hindi. Kachru provides the first detailed grammatical description of Kashmiri in his *A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri* (1969). His other work, *An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri* (1973), prepared for teaching and learning of Kashmiri as a second/foreign language provides notes on Kashmiri grammar and culture. He has also dealt with certain grammatical aspects of the Kashmiri language in his other papers. Kachru's work stimulated a great interest in the study of various aspects of Kashmiri grammar, including both morphology and syntax.

Koul (1977) deals with various syntactic aspects following new theoretical developments. A few doctoral dissertations have dealt with morphology and syntax in detail. Bhat (1980) provides a detailed description of phonology and morphology; Sar (1981) describes verbal morphology; Andrabi (1984) discusses syntactic aspects of reference and co-reference in Kashmiri; Vijay Kaul (1988, published in 2006) deals with compound verbs in Kashmiri. Peter Hook and Koul jointly worked on various syntactic aspects like word order, pronominal suffixes, ergativity, transitivity, causatives, modal verbs, etc. Koul and Hook (1984) present certain important grammatical aspects of Kashmiri contributed by various scholars.

The period after 1990 is very significant for the study of various grammatical aspects and for the preparation of grammars dealing in detail with morphology, syntax and semantics. Scholars in India and abroad and also in collaboration have prepared some significant research works, available in the form of dissertations, papers and books. Most of the dissertations deal with different syntactic aspects of Kashmiri. Asha Tickoo (1990) deals with word order in Kashmiri; Rakesh Bhatt (1994, published in 2000) deals with word order and case in Kashmiri; Achla Raina (1993) deals with certain syntactic aspects of Kashmiri using an S-Selectional approach to grammar; Estella Del Bon (2001) deals with clitics in Kashmiri.

Wali and Koul (1997), in their *Kashmiri: A Descriptive-Cognitive Grammar*, provide a detailed description of Kashmiri grammar covering morphology and syntax. This book, widely referred to, has stimulated a number of linguists to take up further research in Kashmiri. *Topics in Kashmiri Linguistics*, edited by Koul and Wali (2002) is a collection of research papers devoted to syntax contributed by Peter Hook, Ashok Koul, Omkar N. Koul, Achla M. Raina, Estella del Bon and Kashi Wali. Koul (2005) in his *Studies in Kashmiri Linguistics* provides a description of various linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of Kashmiri. *Kashmiri: A Study in Comparative Indo-Aryan* by Hook and Koul (forthcoming) has 20 chapters devoted to various aspects of grammar. The *Modern Kashmiri Grammar* of Koul and Wali (2006) is pedagogically oriented for teaching/learning Kashmiri as a second language. Hook and Koul (2006) discuss valency sets in Kashmiri.

There are very few grammars and grammatical studies written in Kashmiri. Naji Munawar and Shafi Shauq (1976), and Nishant Ansari (1976) provide a very brief description of traditional grammatical terms in Kashmiri. Their main contribution has been in introducing Kashmiri terms for traditional grammatical terms used in Urdu. Adil Kak and Talashi (2002) present the first description of the grammatical aspects of Kashmiri, and Afaq Aziz's (2005) grammar is the first pedagogically oriented grammar written in Kashmiri. Shauq (2008) provides a Grammatical description of Kashmiri in Kashmiri.

5. Sociolinguistic research

Very limited sociolinguistic work has been conducted in Kashmiri thus far. To begin with, Grierson (1911) and Kachru (1969) have listed certain linguistic characteristics of the speech of Hindus and Muslims. Whereas Grierson uses Hindu and Muslim Kashmiri to distinguish these two varieties, Kachru prefers to use Sanskritised and Perisianised Kashmiri for these varieties, respectively. The so-called varieties are not exclusively Hindu and Muslim, but are important from the point of view of registers and diglossia.

The first ever sociolinguistic survey, conducted by Koul and Schmidt (1983), studies the language use and language preferences of native speakers of Kashmiri. It reveals the use of Kashmiri in social domains and preferences for its use in education and administration at lower levels.

M. K. Koul (1986) has studied sociolinguistic variables of Kashmiri spoken in the Anatnag district of the state and that of Srinagar. Dhar (1985) has pointed out sociolinguistic variations of Kashmiri spoken in Sopore. Kantroo (1985) has studied variations of Kashmiri by certain minority communities and occupational groups. Mahfooza Jan (1993) has studied dialects spoken by certain professional groups. Koul (1994, 1995) in his two papers has analysed personal names, surnames and nicknames in Kashmiri.

Kak (1995), and Kak and Agnihotri (1997) have worked on Kashmiri–English code mixing. Apart from dealing with the acceptability at different levels, they also discuss the validity of of certain constraints in Kashmiri-English code mixing. Kak and Wani (2005) further study the notion and validity of base language in Kashmiri-English code mixing.

Koul (1998) has studied language maintenance and language loss of Kashmiri migrant children in Jammu and Delhi. The study reveals loss of Kashmiri in formal domains and its maintenance in certain restricted social domains. There is comparatively more loss of the language in Delhi than in Jammu. His survey on language preferences in education in India (2001) shows preference for the use of Kashmiri as a subject and as medium of education at the elementary level in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmiri is primarily used in restricted social domains and about 70% of parents prefer to talk to their children in Kashmiri at home. Adil Kak (2002) has also conducted a survey for the language maintenance and shift of Kashmiri in Srinagar. There is a wide scope for serious sociolinguistic research in Kashmiri and for its planning in education, administration and mass media.

6. Lexicography

Lexicographical works in Kashmiri fall under different categories: vocabularies, glossaries and dictionaries. It is believed that Sonti Pandit (1859) prepared a Kashmiri-Persian dictionary in 1859, which is not available now. Ishar Kaul (d. 1883) made a first serious attempt to prepare a Kashmiri-Sanskrit dictionary but could not complete it before his death. Grierson (1916–1932) compiled *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Language* in four volumes partly from materials left by Ishar Kaul. This is the first comprehensive Kashmiri-English dictionary available. The Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages has prepared a monolingual dictionary entitled *Kashir Dictionary* (1972–79) in eight volumes, and a bilingual *Urdu-Kashmiri Farhang* (1967–80) in nine volumes. Rattan Lal Shant et al. have prepared a Hindi-Kashmiri dictionary published by Central Hindi Directorate (CHD) in 1980.

Several vocabularies have been prepared as a part of grammars and instructional materials. Handoo and Handoo (1975) have prepared a Hindi- Kashmiri common vocabulary. A Kashmiri-English Glossary prepared by Koul et al. in 1976 was published as *Kashmiri-English Dictionary for Second Language Learners* in its revised version in 2000 by the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL). Koul and Talashi have prepared a *Punjabi-Kashmiri Dictionary* (1999). Jawahir Lal Tickoo (2006) has recently published a *Kashmiri-English Dictionary*. It has about 15,000 entries Perso-Arabic and Devanagari scripts.

Knowles prepared *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings* as early as in 1885. Koul (1992, 2006) has prepared *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, which provides Kashmiri proverbs with their literal translations, and idiomatic equivalents or explanations in English.

7. Instructional Materials

Kachru (1973) prepared a course in spoken Kashmiri for the learning of Kashmiri as a second/foreign language. Koul (1987, 2006) has prepared *Spoken Kashmiri: A Language Course* as a self-instructional course. Teaching of Kashmiri as a second language to in-service teachers commenced at the Northern Regional Language Centre of the CIIL in 1971. The CIIL has published quite a few instructional materials, which include a *Kashmiri Phonetic Reader* by Jawahar Lal Handoo (1973), *An Intensive Course in Kashmiri* by Omkar N Koul (1985), *Kashir Kitab: Level I* by R K Bhat, *Kashir Kitab: Level II,* and *Kashmiri Pictorial Glossary*, by S. N. Raina, *Intermediate Course Reader in Kashmiri* by Koul (1995), *Tests of Language Proficiency: Kashmiri* by Koul, Raina, Bhat and M K Koul (2000), and *A Handbook of Audio-Cassette Course in Kashmiri* (with three audio-cassettes) by R K Bhat (2002). R K Bhat has also edited a *Kashmiri Primer* and a *Kashmiri Reader* using Devanagari script published by Sampreti (2003). Bhat (2007) has prepared *A Course in Kashmiri Language* in Devanagari script. Koul (2008) has prepared a *Kashmiri Newspaper Reader* with grammatical notes and translation to be used in a second/foreign language learning situation at the advanced level.

The above survey brings out clearly that though linguistic research in Kashmiri began about hundred fifty years ago in different fields, there has been significant interest in the areas of grammars and grammatical studies, preparation of dictionaries and other pedagogical materials in Kashmiri in recent years. There are still a few important areas in which no adequate work has been done so far. This includes work in the area of computational linguistics and application of information technology.

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